Apprehensive Allies—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE Nation

January 27, 1951

Can France Rearm?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

"Mr. Point Four"

BY ANDREW ROTH

*

The FBI Reviews a Book

BY THE OBSERVER

*

The Tragedy of the Spanish Refugees

BY CHARLES R. JOY

JAN 26 1951

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT COUNTRY MANUFACTURED MOST OF THE ARMS NOW BEING USED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS?

At first guess, most people would say Russia. But they'd be wrong. What world power inadvertently and ironically, supplied the bulk of the weapons now being used against UN troops in Korea? The answer is only one part of the tragedy of diplomacy that went astray.

(Answered in a recent issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

WHAT ARE THE REAL FACTORS BEHIND THE FAMOUS TRUMAN "LETTERS"?

Certain elements of the population were delighted with the furor raised in the press when some of Truman's personal letters became public. Others deplored Truman's apparent lack of discretion. Are these letters merely the President's way of "blowing off steam"? Or is there another — more alarming — reason for Truman's unbridled urge to correspond?

(Answered in a recent issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR TYDINGS DEFEAT IN MARYLAND?

A fake composite picture, purporting to show Sen. Tydings conferring with Earl Browder, was an important factor in the campaign which elected Republican John Butler to the Senate last November. An old device, long held in disrepute, this faked photo was the concoction of another member of our law-making body. Who? And how was it done?

(Answered in a recent issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

NEW REPUBLIC subscribers *know* the answers to these and other critical questions which vitally affect *your* welfare and *your* way of life . . . questions which are discussed and answered every week in the NEW REPUBLIC.

And to bring you closer to the source of tomorrow's headlines . . . to give you on-the-spot reports of news in the making, the NEW REPUBLIC has moved its editorial headquarters to Washington. From there, top authorities report the news as it happens, take you behind closed doors to committee meetings, Congressional hearings and State Department conferences.

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49 St. • New York 17, N. Y.

YES, please enter a subscription to the NEW REPUBLIC in my name at the special half-price rate of 20 issues for only $2.

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

N 1/27/51

Special Half-Price Offer to Nation Readers!

Make certain you get all the facts behind today's events. Take advantage of NR's special offer to Nation readers which brings you the next 20 issues of the NEW REPUBLIC for only $2—a saving of $2 on the newsstand price! This special half-price offer is open for a limited time only, so fill out and mail this coupon *today!*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 27, 1951 NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

THE RESIGNATION OF DR. ALAN VALENTINE as Economic Stabilization Administrator is, we hope, a sign that Washington officialdom has been shaken by public protests against the recent spurt in prices. Since the middle of December, retail food prices have risen sharply, and there have been still greater advances in wholesale markets portending further increases in grocery and butcher bills. Meanwhile action in Washington has been paralyzed by a controversy between those who believe indirect controls are adequate to prevent inflation and those who want direct controls, including a price and wage freeze. Actually, of course, we need both kinds. Price ceilings are likely to be widely evaded unless higher taxes and further credit restrictions cut down the volume of consumer income chasing after scarce goods. But we need a price freeze so that profiteers can be identified, and we need it immediately in order to halt panic buying inspired by fears of still higher prices and encouraged by exaggerated talk of coming shortages. Nevertheless, a plan for an immediate thirty-day freeze put forward by Price Administrator Michael DiSalle was vetoed on January 10 by Mr. Valentine. A week later Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization, said in a speech at Philadelphia: "Voluntary methods will not work. . . . The power of law must be invoked . . . for whatever controls are necessary to prevent inflation." Although a believer in voluntary methods, Mr. Valentine took the hint and produced a plan of his own for mandatory wage and price ceilings to take effect about February 1. Told by Wilson that it was "not acceptable" he resigned. He is to be replaced by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Pictures Association of America, a puzzling choice which leaves us with fingers tightly crossed. Whatever Mr. Johnston's virtues as a public-relations man, we shall be pleasantly surprised if he proves to have the toughness and administrative vigor which leadership of the fight against inflation demands.

*

IN THE OPINION OF MANY AMERICAN editors and commentators Dictator Franco is rapidly becoming democracy's best asset. Yet it was with a feeling of sadness that we read an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune*, which had previously opposed degrading the Atlantic coalition by admitting Hitler's last heir, arguing that "the whole Western community must weigh anew the resources and strength which Spain offers." Such language would be natural in a Senator McCarran, who would even embrace Adolf Hitler if he could be revived for use against the Russians, but in a reputable paper it gives alarming evidence of how easily positions of decency can be abandoned in exchange for men and materials. American experts, according to Sam Pope Brewer, the New York *Times's* Madrid correspondent, are in Spain studying the resources of wolfram and other war-vital commodities. One should remember the tones of indignation with which our delegates in the United Nations rejected Soviet accusations that our policy of supporting Franco was inspired by strategic considerations. The illusions surrounding Franco's strength were heightened when José Felix Lequerica, the new Spanish ambassador, immediately after presenting his credentials to President Truman offered the Caudillo's famous one-million-man army to the defenders of freedom. In a biting article in the *New Republic* entitled Heil Lequerica! Harold L. Ickes has expressed the abhorrence with which American liberals regard these latest developments. But we must note, with regret, that there has not come, either from other liberal groups or from the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L.—committed by their membership in the International Committee of Free Trade Unions to take a stand in the matter—any effective protest against a policy that deprives this country of the right to tell the world we are fighting for democracy.

*

THE RELEASE AND REHABILITATION OF NAZI war criminals by the American occupation authorities, coming on top of the farce of denazification, constitutes a scandal. At this moment in our fervent courtship of the Germans it may hardly be considered good form to examine this odorous situation; nevertheless, a brief review of the events of the last six months is called for to demonstrate the shocking extent to which General Eisenhower's "let bygones be bygones" speech was anticipated by our officials. In August, 1950, eight top offenders and eleven lesser figures were released for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 69
"Socialism" or Defense? 71
Apprehensive Allies 72

ARTICLES

Mao's Counter-Proposal *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 73
Civil War in the G. O. P. *by Willard Shelton* 75
Can France Rearm? *by Alexander Werth* 77
The Tragedy of the Spanish Refugees *by Charles R. Joy* 79
The Vatican vs. the Public Schools. II. The Netherlands *by Paul Blanshard* 81
"Mr. Point Four" *by Andrew Roth* 83
Everybody's Business: The Bulls Have It *by Keith Hutchison* 85
Dangerous Thoughts: The FBI Reviews a Book *by The Observer* 86

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides: "A Passion for Literature" *by Perry Miller* 87
Loyalty vs. Freedom *by M. R. Werner* 88
"Island Within" *by Arthur Hertzberg* 89
The Paradox of Japan *by Harold Strauss* 90
A Prosody of Relaxation *by Hayden Carruth* 91
Inside Reports *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 91
Art *by Manny Farber* 92
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 92
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 93

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 95

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 397 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 96

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"good conduct." They included Friedrich Flick, one of Hitler Germany's most powerful industrialists, sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for exploiting slave labor in his mines and mills; two former members of Hitler's Cabinet, Otto Dietrich and Walter Darre, found guilty of furthering the program that killed 6,000,000 Jews; S. S. General Rudolph Lehmann, former judge advocate of the German army, charged with drafting orders for the execution of captured commandos and Soviet army commissars; Kurt Rothenberger an ex-state secretary who specialized in racial persecution; and an I. G. Farben official, Fritz Ter Meer, who plundered plants in occupied countries. Ter Meer with grim insight, said, "Now that they have Korea on their hands the Americans are a lot more friendly." In November General Handy, European commander of American forces, announced the release of fourteen concentration-camp guards, nine serving life sentences for extreme brutality on grants of clemency. In December four men found guilty as war criminals by the Nürnberg tribunal and sentenced to terms ranging from nine years to life were paroled because of bad health.

*

THE GERMAN REACTION TO THIS LENIENCY on our part has in the main been one of sullen acceptance of long overdue justice. Some papers, to be sure, have argued that Germans should try the released men, and last week a German court found Ilse Koch guilty of murdering at least one inmate of Buchenwald and sentenced her to life imprisonment, the maximum penalty under the new constitution. (General Clay's commutation of a similar sentence by an American court to four years' imprisonment had been followed by unconditional release.) But these must be considered as isolated incidents in the light of the appeal made to High Commissioner McCloy by a parliamentary group which is headed by Carlo Schmid, Social Democrat, representing *all* of the major parties in the Bundestag. Because so much time had elapsed since their conviction Dr. Schmid asked for an amnesty for the war criminals awaiting execution in order to improve political and psychological factors "at a time when West Germany was being called upon to make a military contribution to Western defense." When one considers that 53 of the 402 members of the Bundestag are ex-members of the Nazi Party, the appeal should not come as a surprise. Nor should it occasion comment to learn that the government of the state of Schleswig-Holstein is headed by an ex-Nazi—now a Christian Democrat—whose six-man Cabinet contains four Nazis. None the less, when a recent public-opinion survey showed that only one of four German youths and but one of three adults believe that our efforts at democratization have had any great success, Commissioner McCloy's office attributed this unfavorable attitude to German susceptibility to Communist propaganda.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT ON JANUARY 2 declined to review the case of the seven Martinsville, Virginia, Negroes who face death for raping a white woman, it missed a chance to reexamine a classic area of Southern crime. Once before, in June, 1949, the court refused to hear the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys who are appealing the case. At that time the defense claimed that the men had been tried in Martinsville in "an atmosphere of prejudice and hostility." But while it is natural to suspect that colored defendants cannot get unbiased trials before white Southern juries—particularly if the crime is raping a white woman—the existence of a hostile climate of opinion is a difficult thing to prove. In its new appeal the defense relied upon the argument that, in Virginia, the death penalty for rape is reserved for Negroes. Records were cited showing that of the men convicted of this crime forty-five Negroes had been electrocuted since 1908, but not a single white man. The Virginia courts were unimpressed, reasoning that if juries could no longer give death to Negroes guilty of rape, white defendants would suffer discrimination, since the juries before which they were tried would be instructed as to the supreme penalty. The roots of this apparent dilemma lie, of course, in the hypocrisy and inner contradictions of a segregated society. Meanwhile the seven defendants, after two years in jail, face execution on February 2 and 5. The N. A. A. C. P. plans further proceedings on the same basis through the lower federal courts and, if necessary, up to the Supreme Court again. The court may have another opportunity to help shape Southern law so that members of both races may be assured of justice.

London, January 18

ANEURIN BEVAN has gambled on peace in accepting the thorny post of Minister of Labor in the reshuffling of the British Cabinet. After mulling over the decision for two weeks he finally accepted because he hopes that war will be avoided and that his record in the government's most difficult posts—Health and Labor—will insure his succeeding Attlee as Premier. Under Bevan the Ministry of Labor will be in effect the Ministry of War Production. He told his friends last week that he knew his rivals in the right wing of the Labor Party expect him to "break his neck" on this job because he will have to persuade the workers to produce more arms while wages remain stationary and prices continue to climb. Six weeks ago he said privately that he was disgusted with the government's foreign policy but fearful of splitting the party. He feels that Labor would lose an election right now but would win if one were held after the projected Big Four talks on Germany had relaxed the international tension. Left-wing back-benchers who had looked to Bevan to lead a revolt against the Attlee-Morrison policies admit that they have been out-maneuvered by the right-wingers, who have appealed to Bevan's love of important office. They consider Bevan's confidence that peace will break out wishful thinking to cover his mingled reluctance and satisfaction in taking over as the boss of British war production. A. R.

"Socialism" or Defense?

CONSERVATIVE political leaders, Republican and Democrat alike, appear to be shocked at the revelation that President Truman is still a Fair Dealer. Governor Dewey, "deeply disturbed" by the President's budget message, says the proposed increase in certain supposedly non-defense items "imperils the nation's essential unity." Senator Byrd thinks it "the very height of fiscal irresponsibility" for the President to renew his "advocacy of socialistic measures known as the Fair Deal." Senator Bridges is "shocked" to find that the budget "provides for the 'Fair Deal' under the guise of defense spending." And from many other quarters come similar expressions of dismay that at a time like this Mr. Truman can still be interested in social security, public health, housing, financial aid for the schools, and a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Given the complexion of the new Congress, we are afraid the President was speaking largely for the record. The danger is not that he will obtain his Fair Deal program masked as defense, but that the Eighty-second Congress will smother it even more effectively than the Eighty-first, and do so in the name of defense.

Even in a military sense it is not easy in a complex society to draw the line between defense and non-defense projects. Senator Bridges can blithely write off the St. Lawrence seaway as an "unnecessary item," but besides providing a tremendous increase in electric power, that project, as Mr. Truman pointed out, "would also provide economical and safe access . . . to the large deposits of iron ore in Labrador and Quebec." Similarly in the field of housing, the emphasis in the budget is entirely on aspects connected with the defense effort. The Administration would seem, in fact, to be leaning over backward in curtailing residential construction by a third, inasmuch as the Federal National Mortgage Association will show for the fiscal year a net income of $530,000,000, thanks to "an accelerated sales program" that hardly smacks of socialism. In any case priority will go to housing required by the shifts and concentrations of population connected with defense production and military training.

Even in the narrowest terms the other "socialistic" items complained of are utterly insignificant in proportion to the total budget or are not intended to be paid for at all out of general taxation. And here, too, the link to defense needs should be obvious. The country's educational plant is approaching a breakdown, and the chaotic effects of the draft on colleges and secondary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schools makes the situation daily more desperate. At the same time, war or even preparation for war demands a steady flow of trained personnel in all fields. The importance of improving the health standards of the country, from a military standpoint, should be obvious even to Senator Byrd if he would take the trouble to check on the appalling percentage of men who are physically or mentally disqualified for service. Yet the Administration's health-insurance program calls for no present federal outlay but for a pay-roll tax of one-fourth of one per cent on employer and employee alike. With manpower a crucial problem, a ban on discriminatory hiring practices would seem to be highly relevant. As Senator Humphrey states the case, "Many American citizens are today unable to contribute their skills and abilities to defense production solely because of their color, religion, or national origin."

These are all immediate and material considerations, such as might be expected to appeal even to conservative politicians who put the safety of the country above partisan advantage. But there is a broader perspective which takes into account not only the ultimate possibility of violent conflict with the Soviet Union but the glaring fact that psychological war is already raging throughout the world between our own social concepts and those of the Communists. So keen has the struggle become that the President last week launched a project to block Communist efforts to capitalize on "falsehood." Experts were called in to advise on methods of improving the presentation of our case before the world. That case can be made more eloquent not by outdoing our opponents in the techniques of propaganda, but by providing concrete evidence, day by day, of the gains which a free society is capable of providing, without prejudice to individual liberty, in the living standards of its people—in health, education, housing, and economic security.

There is little use in pressing this argument on Representative Joseph Martin, who sees in such a course only "the same old, tired Socialist program" that Roosevelt launched eighteen years ago. Yet even the minority leader of the House might understand the conclusion of the Baltimore *Sun*, to wit: "The cry of 'socialism!' is all very well. But how else does one go about mobilizing a nation for an immense strengthening of its defenses except by increasing the central government's authority?"

Notice to Our Readers

In spite of the fact that our print order for *The Nation's* Eighty-fifth Anniversary number was increased by almost fifty per cent, the supply of this issue is now completely exhausted. We therefore announce with regret our inability to fill any further orders for copies of this issue.

Apprehensive Allies

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TO CONFOUND or frighten the enemy is not enough; in a time of danger the most important test of foreign policy is whether it reassures friends and strengthens alliances. By this test America's foreign policy cannot be called a success, and current attempts to blame the Russians for the uneasiness of our Western allies can only result in self-deception, a luxury no country can now afford. The Russians have doubtless done their best to exploit the differences that exist; they did not invent them, for they are based upon genuine conflicts of interest and feeling.

Eisenhower's inspection tour through Europe has produced a flurry of optimistic dispatches, but even if the "will to resist" is as strong as the General reports he has yet to discover how far the European governments will go—or how far the people will follow—in any direction that may increase the chance of early Russian attack, and thus of Europe's destruction. Some of this country's most aggressively defended policies seem to Europeans reckless and provocative; they think we are pressing for them too hard and ignoring the reasoned objections of the countries most intimately concerned.

The fact is, as an American at Lake Success remarked last week, our best friends don't like us. They may follow us—most of them will—because they dare not forfeit our backing, either military or economic, but not because they have confidence in our stability and wisdom or approve the actual policies in which we demand their unquestioning acquiescence. If Russia has tried to increase discord by magnifying existing divisions, they have also provided, stupidly enough, the binder that holds the Atlantic amalgam together; it is not that our allies love us more but only that they fear us less.

The struggle in the United Nations over China and Korea is a striking illustration of the trouble American policy has run into. Put plainly, we have had almost no sincere support for our "strong" position on Chinese intervention. Until Peking's answer came in, even the Latin Americans resisted our urging that the Chinese Communists be branded aggressors. The chief European nations, along with the British Commonwealth and the Asian-Arab group, were set upon averting any action that might lead to sanctions and thus to war; so firmly set that in the end the United States was forced to choose between standing alone and saying yes to the resolution embodying the "five principles" drawn up by the cease-fire group.

The State Department's decision to go along with the majority was based on a shrewd conviction that Peking would reject the offer; this it was assumed would insure

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adoption of our resolution charging aggression. The Chinese obligingly did their part by laying down conditions in their counter-proposals which seemed designed to help the American case. Apparently they did resolve the doubts of the Latin Americans, but the reluctance of the nations most directly involved has not been overcome. The feeling that the United States was trying to rush through a decision the result of which might be general war was shared by delegates who harshly criticized Peking for failing to take advantage of a generous and conciliatory offer, and who would willingly have supported a charge of aggression if moral condemnation could have been divorced from strategic consequences.

But fear of being hurried into war is not the only line dividing the United States from its natural allies. Many nations, especially among the Asians, have become suspicious of American purposes and irritated by American behavior. It is hard, no doubt, for the strongest power in the world organization to behave as a mere fellow-member. Even though we fell in line with the majority on the cease-fire offer, our delegates managed to give the impression that this was an act of immense magnanimity not likely to be repeated—especially since our misgivings had been so thoroughly validated by the Chinese Communists. This and President Truman's naively open announcement that we would use all possible pressure to force adoption of our resolution grated on the national sensibilities of other, still doubting, countries. Nor was it exactly tactful, in a situation charged with such ominous possibilities, for the United States to invite certain nations to act as co-sponsors for the resolution and then, after they had received orders from their governments to accept, blandly to brush them off, explaining that since Britain and France had declined we would prefer to have no co-sponsors at all.

Our methods have undoubtedly increased suspicion of our purposes. In spite of the cautious language used in the resolution, the statement made at the beginning of the week by the American delegate, Ernest A. Gross, must have dispelled any doubt about this country's intentions. To insist on Chiang Kai-shek's presence in any negotiations on Formosa and to declare in advance that American security needs will dictate our Formosa policy is to quench whatever hope remains of renewed peace efforts. It introduces without warning a condition which was not even mentioned in the principles for which the United States voted last week, and at the same time violates Washington's promise to leave the future of Formosa to the United Nations. The effect of this startling pronouncement has not been registered as *The Nation* goes to press, but it can only confirm the general belief that a formal charge of aggression will lead inevitably to an American demand for economic sanctions, a naval blockade, and probably the ending of present restrictions on air attacks across the Chinese border.

The idea of a "limited" war is regarded as wildly unreal by our chief allies. They foresee, too, that if the fighting is carried to China the last excuse for rejecting the offered aid of the Nationalists will have vanished and the United Nations will soon find itself engaged in a war to help Chiang Kai-shek recover the mainland. No single development could so profoundly alienate the independent Asian countries or so reinforce Europe's dread of headlong American decisions unilaterally announced or carried through.

Mao's Counter-Proposal

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 22, 3:30 p.m.

STOP-PRESS NOTE: At this moment Sir Benegal N. Rau has set off a bombshell in the session of the Political Committee by announcing that he has received word from his government to the effect that Mao Tse-tung, in response to a direct appeal from Prime Minister Nehru, has agreed to negotiate a settlement of the Korean war in two steps. The first is a cease-fire for a limited period during an initial meeting of the seven-nation group; the second, a long-range settlement based on several conditions, which include the withdrawal of foreign troops, negotiation for the withdrawal of United States forces from Formosa, and the admission of Peking to the U. N. Sir Benegal announced further that if point one, the withdrawal of foreign troops, is accepted, China will immediately recall its "volunteers."

This startling proposal, in which Mao for the first time agrees to a cease-fire in advance of negotiations, has created an entirely new situation in the United Nations. In view of the statement of Mr. Gross, commented upon elsewhere in this issue, the American response to Mao's offer cannot be predicted.

January 21

THE proposal for a cease-fire in Korea voted by the Political Committee on January 13 offered such a tempting opportunity to the Peking government to score a diplomatic success that it is hard to understand why it was not accepted. International developments in the past fortnight have been of such a nature that Mr. Chou En-lai, by making a different reply, might have put himself in a position to dominate the proposed negotiation while at the same time ending the threat of a general war in Asia. I refer not only to the impressive unanimity with which the other countries of the British Commonwealth supported India's efforts at conciliation but to the upsurge of European public opinion in favor of holding the four-power talks proposed by Moscow. In the last analysis Korea and Germany are parts of the same problem, which is how to bring about a negotiated

The Charles C. Sherrod Lib 73
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

settlement between East and West. From this angle, as well as from that of the conflict in Korea, China's reply was intensely disappointing.

But it was far from being a flat rejection of the U. N.'s offer. In form and even in substance it was a counter-proposal and, acceptable or not, should be treated as such by the Political Committee. I am certain that if a committee of international experts, say the High International Court of Justice at The Hague, were asked to view it as a simple diplomatic paper and to decide, independent of all political considerations, whether it was a flat rejection or a counter-proposal, the verdict would be that it was the latter. This apparently technical point is important, especially to those nations like India which do not wish to slam the door on further attempts to negotiate.

The discussion that began on Thursday in the Political Committee, however, was an indictment of Communist China rather than an objective examination of Chou En-lai's note aimed at determining points of agreement or disagreement or which demands could be considered and which were impossible. General Rómulo used all his eloquence, as in previous sessions, to discredit the idea of conciliation and reveled in his role of prophet of catastrophe. He had predicted what Peking's reply would be, and here it was, confirming his political acuteness. His speech in support of Mr. Austin's proposal to brand Communist China an aggressor was designed to place Great Britain, the Commonwealth, and France in a most uncomfortable position if they refused to break definitely with Peking and renounce any chance of reducing the gap between the points of view of the U. N. and China. He singled out Sir Gladwyn Jebb particularly in this shrewd and malicious attempt to eliminate possible future mediators.

The British delegate replied in the hurt tones of one who honestly could not understand why the Chinese government had paid no attention to the conciliatory stand of the Commonwealth conference in London. He took good care, however, not to fall into the trap set for him by General Rómulo and align himself with the unconditional partisans of the declaration of aggression.

Even on Thursday it was clear that although Great Britain, Australia, and France—the countries whose votes had most weight—felt forced to follow the United States in branding Communist China an aggressor, they were not at all inclined to subscribe to a decision which might permit the bombing of the Chinese mainland or impose diplomatic or economic sanctions on Peking. So until Saturday it was believed that the American resolution would be only a platonic denunciation of aggression. In that case what would be its real value? And what would be the moral effect if a country like Great Britain voted for it in order not to dissociate itself entirely from the United States and at the same time continued its diplomatic and commercial relations with the proclaimed aggressor? If bombing of the Chinese mainland was excluded, how would this new move help General MacArthur? Arms and money have been sent to Chiang Kai-shek during the past few weeks without any permission from Lake Success—and this in the very period when the United Nations was seeking a truce and the proposals of the Political Committee were being worked out; Chou En-lai might have mentioned this fact in his note if he had wished to make it a flat rejection. No, the single practical result of the declaration of aggression would be to close the door of the United Nations to Communist China. And that is precisely what should be avoided, for Mao's absence from Lake Success is the original cause, as Nehru has consistently pointed out, of present difficulties in Asia.

In Friday's session not much happened. The Polish delegate, Dr. Katz-Suchy, made the first argument in support of the claim that Peking's reply was a counter-proposal; only if the offer made by the Political Committee was meant as an ultimatum, he said, could the Chinese reply be construed as a rejection. He also established the difference between the actual Munich of 1938, when the hope of peace was so quickly frustrated, and the so-called Munich of 1951. The delegate of Chile, Señor Santa Cruz, propounded the amazing theory that a declaration of aggression would not prevent and might even improve the chance of later negotiation—with a state placed outside international law!

ON Saturday Mr. Austin introduced his resolution, a stronger one than had been expected. It not only charged Peking with aggression; it called upon "all states and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea" and requested that a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee be appointed to consider "additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression." The vagueness of the wording heightened the apprehensions of delegates who remembered that the equally vague resolutions adopted in June, on the outbreak of the Korean war, had started a long controversy over whether General MacArthur was subject to restrictions in carrying on the war or could override them when military considerations seemed to him to dictate stronger measures.

All the Latin American delegations enthusiastically supported Mr. Austin. Throughout Saturday afternoon it was strange to hear drastic action recommended by the spokesmen of countries which had always taken pride in the Latin American tradition of arbitration and of which few sacrifices would be required by such action. They were not going to send troops to fight the Chinese Communists; they had little trade with China to be cut off; there was no possible way in which they could cooperate effectively in these "additional measures."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The delegate of Czechoslovakia supported Dr. Katz-Suchy in maintaining that the Peking reply was a counter-proposal and thus a sign of Mao Tse-tung's willingness to negotiate. The delegate of Indonesia in a well-reasoned speech recalled that the United Nations had made many futile attempts to end the conflict between his country and the Netherlands before a settlement was finally attained. Comparing the address of Ambassador Wu to the Security Council with Cho En-lai's note, he found the latter more moderate, and he demanded, therefore, that the U. N. make another attempt at conciliation.

The last speaker on Saturday, Sir Benegal Rau of India, was listened to with extraordinary attention and made a profound impression. He referred to the action of Great Britain in granting freedom to India in words which may have been meant as a warning to London not to spoil its record in Asia by an intransigent attitude now.

> It may be contended [he said] that the People's Government [of China] is in fact a rebel against the United Nations and that to negotiate with a rebel is inconsistent with the prestige of the organization. Five or six years ago there was an organization in India which had rebelled against British authority; British statesmen, nevertheless, negotiated with the leaders of that organization, amid prophecies of disaster to all concerned. What happened? Those leaders are now world figures; India remains within the Commonwealth of her own free will; all trace of bitterness against the British has vanished; the Commonwealth is stronger than ever; indeed, in this very crisis it has played an important role—the prestige of the United Kingdom has never stood higher in India. All the prophets of disaster have been proved wrong and, I may perhaps add, have been glad to be proved wrong. This is not the only instance of the kind in the history of the United Kingdom; there are several others; they all show how a little imagination and understanding at the right moment can achieve what war and force cannot.

After this lesson in diplomacy and history Sir Benegal made a subtle appeal to the other nations not to disregard the vast changes taking place in Asia and explained why the Chinese Communists were suspicious of the West. He had analyzed, one by one, in the precise terms of a legal expert, the points in the Chinese reply which could be considered counter-proposals and offered "room for elucidation and adjustment, for further discussion and negotiation."

I will not venture to predict whether the American resolution will receive the necessary two-thirds' vote or not. It will get no real support from the principal European countries, from the Commonwealth, from India, or from the Arab-Asian group, and so, even if it is adopted, its value as an expression of the will of the United Nations will be questionable.•

Civil War in the G.O.P.

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 19

THE results of the savage infighting among the reinforced Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress show that the Taft-Wherry-Martin conservatives misread the election returns and overestimated their strength. Taft has been beaten in his attempt to dictate foreign policy. And although the conservatives dropped from the G. O. P. policy committee Senators Irving Ives of New York and Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, two of the Republicans who last year signed the "Declaration of Conscience" repudiating Joe McCarthy, they were outsmarted when they tried to push an isolationist into a vacancy on the Foreign Relations Committee. This incident is worth reporting.

Normally the Foreign Relations post would have gone to Senator Morse of Oregon, who had urgently requested representation for the West Coast and had the explicit backing of Senator Vandenberg. But Vandenberg was ill in Michigan, and Taft and Wherry were determined that the liberal and internationalist Morse should not be appointed. Since places on major committees are allotted strictly according to seniority, the conservatives were able to cook Morse's goose by proposing Senator Capehart of Indiana, who outranks Morse. The liberals countered with Senator Aiken of Vermont, who outranks Capehart. The conservatives next advanced Senator Brewster of Maine, who outranks Aiken. The liberals came back with Senator Tobey of New Hampshire, who outranks Brewster. That was when the fun really started.

Tobey already was the ranking Republican on the Banking and Currency Committee and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Brewster did not have top rank on any committee, although he was second to Tobey on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Delicate negotiations were now begun, with Brewster trying to obtain an assurance from Tobey that if he went to Foreign Relations, he would withdraw from Interstate and Foreign Commerce, leaving Brewster top Republican there. Tobey for his part offered to renounce Foreign Relations if Brewster would do the same, thus clearing the way for Aiken. Brewster and the conservatives did not like this and redoubled the pressure on Tobey to take the Foreign Relations post if he wanted to, but to retire from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Tobey is a stubborn man. He knew that the conservatives, headed by his own New Hampshire colleague, Styles Bridges, had tried, first in the Republican primary, then in the November election last year, to punish him for his independence by driving him out of office. He recalled how little help he had received from Senator Brewster, chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee. He understood exactly what was involved in the ruthless fight which opened with the conservatives' sandbagging of Morse: the issue was the control of Republican policy in the committees, where the Senate's real decisions are made. Refusing to do any favors for Brewster, Tobey quietly retired from the Banking and Currency Committee, applied for the Foreign Relations post and got it, and held on to his ranking position on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Brewster was left in second place. If the Republicans win control of the Senate in 1952, Tobey will be chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and dominant in its affairs. He will also have a vital vote on Foreign Relations.

The conservative-isolationists met their second defeat, this time on a substantive issue, when the Republican Policy Committee on January 18 decided not to try to make the Wherry resolution a "party issue." The Wherry resolution, embodying Taft's ideas and scheduled to be buried in a Senate vote on January 23, would express the Senate's decision that no more American troops should be sent to Europe without its prior approval. Any attempt to make this a "party issue" was obviously doomed in view of the violent opposition of the Republican internationalists, and Taft, recognizing the imminence of defeat, sought to arrange a compromise. Instead of flatly objecting to sending any more American divisions to Europe, as he did in his January 5 speech, he suggested yesterday that Congress should merely specify and limit the number. This change, however, affects only the details of the plan, and there is historical precedent for believing that the new version would create an impossible muddle.

In the Civil War a special Congressional committee to instruct Lincoln on the conduct of the war set a record for ignorant and irrational meddling in the appointment of commanders, the operation of campaigns, and even the movement and placement of troops. When the Truman Committee was organized in World War II, its members recognized the Civil War performance as an example of what they should avoid. They deliberately rejected any effort to tell the President or his military commanders where, when, and how to fight the war, concentrating instead on bottlenecks in production, favoritism or faulty policy in procurement, and ineffective use of available resources.

WHEN the President recommended that Congress set rules for redrawing Congressional districts on the basis of population changes recorded in the 1950 census, he was proposing to reform a rotten-borough system perpetuated by rurally controlled state legislatures and resulting in gross over-representation of farm populations and under-representation of cities. The current horrible example is Ohio, where one city-suburban district has more than 900,000 people and several rural districts only about 200,000. It is exceedingly unlikely that the President will get what he wants, since dozens of Representatives benefit from such inequities. Rural members won't want to vote themselves, in effect, out of office by supporting a bill requiring state legislatures to establish new districts approximately equal in population and drawn along straight geographical lines to forestall gerrymandering. Nor will the state legislatures, unless forced to do so, take steps to redraw Congressional districts fairly. If they did, they would be compelled to revise their own legislative districts so as to give adequate representation to the huge cities that have grown up in the past three or four decades. The Supreme Court has had several opportunities to break this stalemate but has declined on the ground that the question is "political." In consequence city workers are likely to continue underrepresented both in Congress and in state assemblies, and liberal legislation will be defeated.

BY THE skin of his teeth Secretary Acheson, aided by the Chinese Communists, escaped this week an explosion in an outraged Congress that might well have blown him out of office. The timing allowed him to wriggle free, like Houdini on a stage, in full view of more than a hundred reporters gathered for a press conference. In the opinion of other nations, the United States did what was right and necessary in voting on January 13 for the third U. N. cease-fire proposal, which provided for a conference with the Chinese Communists on all Far Eastern problems after the fighting should cease. Acheson carefully told his news conference that the "overwhelming majority" on the U. N. Political Committee had warned that our opposition or abstention would wreck any chance of the proposal's success. But in Congress the wrath of both Democrats and Republicans reached the boiling point. The Department of State was accused of having abandoned its announced principle that the Chinese Communists would not be "rewarded for aggression" or allowed to "shoot their way into the U. N." Senator Connally flayed Assistant Secretaries Rusk and Hickerson because the American delegation had cast its vote without consulting any member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Rusk and Hickerson, according to "leaks" from a secret committee session, were driven to the desperate expedient of asserting that we voted for the plan only in the belief that Peking would turn it down, and that then we could gather greater support for denunciation of the Chinese as aggressors.

Congress was aroused to fury, and Acheson knew it. He was fifty-five minutes late in meeting his press conference, having been occupied with last-minute revisions of his formal explanation of the American vote. The conference almost broke up when a reporter with an early deadline muttered, "Thank you, Mr. Secretary,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and ran for the telephone. It was reassembled when other reporters insisted they had more questions to ask. Acheson, urbane and articulate as always but showing unmistakable signs of strain, then gave a long extemporaneous discussion of our "obligations," if any, under the Atlantic Pact, and of why he told the Senate, in April, 1949, that he did not "expect" substantial additions to be made to the American troops in Europe under the treaty.

Suddenly, however, came an acutely embarrassing question: if, under pressure from our allies in the "free world," we had agreed to discuss Far Eastern problems with the Chinese Communists, might not similar pressure from our "free world" allies control our actions in the conference—possibly even in regard to Formosa? At this delicate moment, Mike McDermott, in charge of public information, handed the Secretary a piece of news-ticker copy which had been brought to the conference room three minutes earlier. The question, Acheson blandly replied, seemed to be academic, and he read aloud the first wire-service bulletin reporting the Chinese rejection of the cease-fire proposal. He smiled genially as the conference broke up. Two hours later, still on the basis of news-service reports of the Chinese reply, he issued a statement calling the counter-proposals completely unacceptable.

Can France Rearm?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 16

THE Western powers are much too slow," said Mr. Spofford two weeks ago. "The Western powers must make as many sacrifices as the United States for the common cause," said General Eisenhower. That was only a few days after M. Pleven had got the Assembly to pass the 1951 defense and rearmament program of 740 billion francs. Many good deputies who had meekly voted for the program, while wondering how their constituents would react to the increased taxation, were a bit taken aback by these new reproaches.

A few days before General Eisenhower arrived in Paris, a friend of mine staying in a quiet little hotel on the Left Bank was suddenly informed that the house was in danger of collapsing and that the city of Paris had ordered everybody out by noon. My friend protested and asked for written evidence, but when a United States army car drove up and two young officers started counting the rooms, he did not "insist." Many places are being commandeered.

The American military are established at Bordeaux and La Pallice, and the Communists, of course, have raised a rumpus about it in the Assembly, saying that the Americans chose southwestern France as their main base so as to be able to retreat conveniently to Spain and North Africa, after having "provoked a war with the Soviet Union," turned France into "a field of carnage," and scorched it as black and flat as Korea. Mr. Pineau, for the Socialists, said, on the other hand, that if the Russians came to France, they would send all the French peasants to Siberia as slaves. With these two extreme glimpses of the future the great competing "working-class parties" are trying to give the French people the creeps.

In the main the rearmament debate in the Assembly was on a different level. A curious aspect of it was the reticence observed on a number of vital questions. Scarcely anybody except the Communists mentioned German rearmament—evidently an indecent subject to which it was best not to refer. M. Moch and other Socialists who have violently opposed the proposal have a crestfallen look when anyone tactlessly speaks of it now. Some vague assurances were given by the government to the effect that nothing had yet been finally settled and that France was still hoping that something would come of the four-power conference. But while the government is credited with a desire to arrive at an agreement with Russia on the demilitarization of Germany, there are no illusions about America's intentions. Whatever Eisenhower's views on rearming Germany, Truman and Acheson are believed to have made up their minds, and the delay they are now causing by sending more queries to Moscow is considered a bad sign. In the Assembly there seemed to be a sort of gentlemen's agreement among the respectable parties that none of this must be brought up, and that the purpose of the debate was to convince the United States that France was pulling its weight in the organization of Atlantic defense.

At heart everybody agreed with most of the statements made by M. Mendès-France about the unsound economic and financial basis of the French rearmament program. But time and again M. Pleven indicated that Mendès-France's facts were beside the point, and that it was essential to convince the world of France's solidarity with its allies and of its determination to carry out the

ALEXANDER WERTH, for many years The Nation's *Moscow correspondent, is now a staff contributor living in Paris.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

promises given in Washington and Brussels—ten new divisions in 1951, increased to fifteen in 1952, and to twenty in 1953.

M. Mendès-France, whose sound economic advice to successive French governments since the Liberation has been consistently ignored, was in a way the central figure in the debate. Cassandras are popular in French parliamentary life. Just as before the war Louis Marin's homilies on secret German rearmament and Paul Reynaud's home truths on the inadequacy of the French army were listened to with admiration and respect, so now everyone paid close attention to Mendès-France's ruthless analysis of the country's economic weakness. But now as then routine or international considerations won the day. Everyone felt that even if Mendès-France was 100 per cent right, his arguments were unacceptable in Washington. His was a long-term program of economic consolidation, but Washington was in a hurry.

M. MENDES-FRANCE argued as follows: The French economy had been unhealthy even before the rearmament drive, for which there was not enough coal, steel, cement, or labor. Labor lacked fluidity, and industry lacked elasticity. Prices were rising, and the cost of raw materials was causing havoc. Conversion to war purposes would be slow, and much of the 740 billion francs would be spent unproductively.

Neither the moneyed classes in France nor the government would accept the kind of controls and restrictions in force in England. Instead of imposing controls, the government was saving money by cutting down capital investments to the extent of 66 billion francs. The Monnet plan, despite some achievements, had not been a success. Only lip-service had been paid to the policy of increasing capital investments; no government had had the courage and imagination to limit consumption.

Real "national defense" depended on industrial power. Despite Marshall aid—whose value to France had been immense—capital investment in France since the war had been less than half that in Britain. In 1949 only one-twelfth as many houses had been built in France as in Britain. Quoting Mr. Strachey's Dundee speech of November 26, Mendès-France repeated his arguments against weakening the nation socially and economically through rearmament.

While the new taxation required to bring in 165 billion francs was heavy, it was inadequate to meet the need, and France was the only country in the West to finance a large part of its rearmament by borrowing. This was unsound and could only lead to further inflation. What was the good of international security if internal security was thus to be undermined? The cost of defense should be kept to last year's figure, and this could be achieved if stricter controls were imposed on expenditures and if France cut its losses in Indo-China.

A desperate attempt should be made to increase public and private capital investment and cut down consumption; the standard of living of the masses should not be reduced but there should be curbs on those who spend without counting and do not pay their taxes. If not austerity, at least a certain sobriety should be introduced into French life. The maldistribution of wealth was accompanied by scandalous tax evasions.

Mendès-France's main theme was, of course, that if France wished to build up a powerful military machine, it must greatly raise its industrial potential. M. Pleven's central argument was that there was no time to waste; Britain and America were protected by the Channel and the ocean, while France had the expected aggressor on its doorstep. It was clear from what he said that since America was contributing 140 billion francs to French rearmament and was expecting France to contribute at least as much, the defense and rearmament program was, in his view, *politically indispensable* regardless of the economic objections. M. Mendès-France quoted M. Petsche, Minister of Finance, as having told the Finance Committee of the Assembly that he felt grave anxiety about the country's financial equilibrium. Moreover, in open debate M. Petsche had deplored Washington's refusal to pool the economic resources of the Atlantic powers. In the last analysis, M. Pleven's answer to M. Mendès-France consisted chiefly in calling him an ostrich.

Mendès-France himself said at the end of the debate:

> The government has given no reply to any of my anxious questions about the non-extensibility of our industrial production beyond 6 or 7 per cent in 1951; it has said nothing about the shortage of raw materials and the various industrial bottlenecks. No austerity of any kind is contemplated, but capital investments are to be cut down. It's the wrong way. Nor has the government said anything about the deficit of 320 billion francs in the general budget or answered my warnings against inflation and the dangers of large-scale borrowing for unproductive purposes.

Yet the chamber followed M. Pleven, for reasons not far to seek. The whole debate had a tragic undertone. Several speakers feared that if France did not decide on large-scale rearmament it would be left "alone and abandoned." The gesture required by the United States must be made. It is probable that the ten divisions will, somehow, be equipped. Of the 740-billion-franc program—including the 350 billions of new expenditure—only a small part, many said, would in fact be spent on new equipment; the rest would go for "administration," for personnel, for paying for the extra six months' military service, and, to the tune of at least 200 billions, for the hopeless war in Indo-China.

One got the impression that in order not to be isolated and not to play into the hands of the American isolation-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ists French opinion felt it necessary to take the plunge—whatever the effect on the country's financial and economic stability—but that no one really believed the future of the world would be decided by whether or not French taxpayers paid another 165 billion francs. At the back of many minds was the haunting thought of German rearmament. This, in conjunction with Russia's threat not to "tolerate" it, is an infinitely graver problem than any other. Perhaps many deputies voted for French rearmament in the desperate hope that it might help delay the rearmament of Germany. They would undoubtedly have cast their ballots more whole-heartedly if the question had been only one of contributing generously to an Anglo-French-American defense force on the Rhine.

The Tragedy of the Spanish Refugees

BY CHARLES R. JOY

I REMEMBER him as if it were yesterday, the young lad leaning listlessly against the side of the miserable shack in the camp of Argelès. He was only seventeen, but he had been interned for three years and before that had passed through the horrors of the Spanish civil war. A boy warrior, he had been captured and summarily condemned to death. With fifty others he had been lined up before a machine-gun and with the others mowed down. The firing squad moved on; it was not for them to bury the dead.

But the boy was not dead. He crawled out from among the lifeless bodies and was found by a kindly peasant, who nursed him back to health. A little later he slipped across the French frontier and was interned at Argelès. When I talked with him, three years of wretched idleness had not marred his fine, intelligent, spiritual face. He was waiting, like his comrades, for a chance to go home and begin life once more.

I have often wondered what became of that boy. Is he still waiting, or has he given up all hope? Has he returned to Spain? Has he emigrated? Has he found some kind of insecure place in French life? Has he succumbed to those twin foes of the unwanted refugee, undernourishment and disease? I shall probably never know; but recently I have spent some time talking with many other Spanish refugees in France and with the French authorities, welfare organizations, and others who are trying to help them, and I feel I must remind the world of their fate.

Part of their story is known, written on the pages of history. When the war in Spain ended in 1939, 500,000 refugees crossed the Pyrenees into France. Some of them were soldiers, some were the women and children of their families, some were sympathizers, some people who had lost everything in the war and were looking for peace and a new opportunity. They found no peace, for that same year the war spread from Spain to almost all Europe, and no new opportunity—only more wretched years in internment camps. The French government did the best it could for them, but it had a war on its hands and after that the occupation. So the best it could do was to provide *camps d'hébergement*, literally "lodging camps." And what lodgings!

I visited almost all of them in 1940, 1941, 1942, and the names come back to me like a litany of misery—St. Cyprien, Argelès, Noe, Recibedou, Rivesaltes, Gurs, Vernet. Argelès was typical—a sandy stretch of Mediterranean beach at the foot of the Pyrenees, swept in summer by blistering hot winds from the Sahara and in winter by the biting cold that rushed down from the snow-clad summits of the mountains. The frail shelters were largely constructed by the Spaniards themselves, out of materials they found or what was provided by the French engineers. The inmates slept on the ground, or on lengths of corrugated iron bent down at both ends to make legs for a bed, or on vermin-filled cots. Here they stayed for years, subsisting for long weeks at a time on a diet of turnips.

Rivesaltes had been built by the French army for colonial troops, black Senegalese, who loved the heat. Several thousand little children were there. Gurs was on low, wet land, which in winter became a sea of mud. Vernet was a detention camp for criminals, and for others who had no idea why they were detained there. Some of the able-bodied Spaniards were released from the camps to join work companies, some were sent up to the Maginot Line, some joined the French *maquis* and fought against the Germans.

Finally the war came to an end. The camps began to empty. Many of the inmates had died. Some went back to Spain. A few found a home in Latin America. In 1939 there were 500,000 Spanish refugees in France;

CHARLES R. JOY, consulting editor of the Beacon Press, has been executive director of the Unitarian Service Committee and European director of the Save the Children Federation. As field representative of CARE he has just returned from six months in Europe spent in studying the continuing need of the people for that organization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

250,000 of them are left. This means an enormous number of unassimilated people herded together in southwestern France, around Toulouse and Montauban and at the foot of the Pyrenees. But they constitute a problem, an official of the French government told me, not because of their number but because of their health. The Spaniards in France are slowly starving to death.

Have you caught the full meaning of that sentence? Now, in 1950, fourteen years after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, five years after the end of the World War, 250,000 Spaniards in France are slowly dying because they cannot be integrated into the shattered French economy, and because the long years of malnutrition make them an easy prey to all the ills that man is heir to.

Lina, who is now twelve, came with her parents to France as a tiny baby, back in 1939. They were interned in a succession of *camps d'hébergement.* At the outbreak of the World War the father was sent up to the Maginot Line as a laborer in a company of foreign workers. When the Germans overran northern France, he escaped and rejoined his family. Once more he was put into a labor company but escaped by hiding in the woods. His wife earned some money by washing clothes in the stream near the camp. In the winter she had to break the ice in the stream. In 1941 a third child arrived, and then the mother lost her health. For nine years she has been ill, and now is dying of tuberculosis. The father is unable to look after the children and at the same time seek precarious employment.

The father of Pepito and Libertad was killed in the war in Spain. Pepito is twelve and Libertad is fifteen. They have an older brother twenty. Their mother is only forty. They all came to France in 1939. They were put in a camp near Limoges for a time, and then they went to Toulouse, where they have lived ever since. The mother has a serious heart trouble. She tried making sandals at home, but even this was impossible. The older boy was trained to be a plumber but has been unable to find work. Naturally, with so much unemployment in France, the French workers always have the preference. Libertad is the only member of the family who has a job. She works thirty hours a week in a knitting factory and earns 600 francs (about 85 cents). With a family allocation of 8,000 francs a month, the total income of the four is about $23.70 a month. The Unitarian Service Committee helps them with a little clothing, and friends occasionally give them something to eat.

Ricardo has a wife with tuberculosis, a son of nineteen with a bad heart, a frail and sickly daughter. He escaped from a Franco prison and arrived in France in 1947. For a time the International Refugee Organization helped him with a monthly grant, but last July all relief payments by the I. R. O. stopped. He has served an apprenticeship in shoemaking, but the only work he can get is unloading vegetables for a half-day three days a week. The girl does housework, for which she receives only her food and some clothing. The family lives in one small room under the eaves of a miserable house, without water or heat.

A FEW such stories are heartrending. After a while they get monotonous. Finally people cease to pay attention. That is the tragedy of the Spanish refugees. Their suffering is repeated so endlessly that it has lost its impact.

What is most pitiful about their situation is that it is steadily growing worse. In the first half of 1949 the I. R. O. was helping 19,000 of these people. In anticipation of liquidation it reduced the number month by month and at the end of June, 1950, stopped all direct relief in France. It has set aside a certain amount of money to take care of about 12,000 "hard-core" cases—that is, the aged, crippled, ill, who require institutionalization; but the institutions are not yet in existence, and when they will be is anybody's guess.

Unemployment, undernourishment, overcrowding are making their deadly inroads upon this group of refugees. The representative of the Unitarian Service Committee, Persis Miller, whose unflagging devotion to their needs can never be adequately praised, summarized their condition in these words: "To the sufferings of the civil war, internment, occupation, resistance, and hardship, the passage of time and the aging of bodies, must be added cumulative neglect." Almost all the Spaniards are living at a very low subsistence level, and some 27,500 cannot get along without aid. The generous heart of America must once again be awakened to this vast area of distress. The Spaniard himself will make no outcry. His creed is to take what comes without wincing.

Such strength of character may make our pity for these unfortunates less necessary, but what shall we say of the little children who share their fate? They are beautiful children. You look into their wide eyes and see their frail bodies and you feel like cuddling them and weeping over them at the same time. I can only plead for them, as they cannot plead for themselves, as their elders will not plead for them, and beg that you will continue to send them food and clothing and, best of all, your loving message of friendship.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Vatican vs. the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

II. The Netherlands

Amsterdam

THE story of the Vatican's war against the public schools in the Netherlands is significant because it is a success story of Catholic power in a non-Catholic environment. The success could be repeated in the United States if the Catholic population should be doubled by a high Catholic birth rate, and if the leaders of the church should develop their political resources with equal skill.

Today Holland is more nearly a federation than a nation, a federation of Catholic and non-Catholic peoples ruled by a government which acts as arbitrator and co-ordinator of two competing cultures. Both the Catholic and the non-Catholic private elementary schools are larger than the public schools; in the denominational struggle for power it is the nation which suffers. "Holland," said a Dutch friend of mine, "is divided into three classes of people—Catholics, Protestants, and Socialists. Our nation is a living exhibit of the evil effects of bringing religion into politics."

Catholic power reaches not only into education but into every branch of the nation's life. There is a Catholic organization for almost every form of activity in the field of medicine, science, music, economics, and sport. The Catholic labor unions are almost as large as the regular unions; the Catholic Party is the largest single party in Parliament; the Catholic press includes many of the most important daily and weekly newspapers in the country. There is a Catholic Employers' Association, a Catholic Radio Broadcasting Society, a Catholic Society for the Keepers of Goats.

The nature of Catholic separatism in Dutch life can best be made clear by an example which lies outside the field of education. When I was in Rome last spring attending a labor conference on the Marshall Plan, one of the most influential leaders of Dutch labor, A. Vermeulen, told me that Catholic bishops in his country were denying the sacraments to Catholics who joined the regular labor federation, the N. V. V. This federation, like nearly all labor bodies in Europe, is socialist in its general outlook but has no organic connection with the Socialist Party; it is not anti-religious, and it is distinctly hostile to communism—in fact, there is a separate Communist labor federation in the Netherlands, the E. V. C., which fights the N. V. V. very strenuously. There is also, of course, a separate Catholic labor federation, the K. A. B.

I could hardly believe that any Catholic hierarchy in Europe today would be so brash as to exercise continuous religious coercion against such a respectable labor body as the N. V. V., but when I came here to Amsterdam I found that the policy not only was in force but had been affirmed at least once since it was promulgated in 1946 in an edict read in all Catholic pulpits in the country. When I asked the leaders of the Catholic trade-union international at Utrecht about the ban, they did not attempt to deny its existence but placed all the responsibility upon their bishops, taking for granted that it was for the bishops, not the people, to decide such matters.

Penalties are even applied against Catholic members of the N. V. V. after they are dead. Last year, when the body of an N. V. V. railroad worker, G. M. v. d. Heyden of Heerlen, was being taken to a Catholic cemetery for burial, his cortège was stopped two hundred yards from the cemetery by order of the Catholic authorities and a wreath given by the N. V. V. removed.

The denominational narrow-mindedness manifested in such an incident helps to explain why the Catholic bishops of the Netherlands fight to maintain their separate school system: they feel a sacred obligation to save their people from the corruption of non-Catholic thought. On the whole, their policy of separatism and segregation has been quite successful—if success can be measured in terms of school enrolment. The Catholic population of the Netherlands is just under 40 per cent, and the enrolment in Catholic elementary schools in just under 44 per cent. Evidently the hierarchy is holding almost all its own children in its school system, and getting a few non-Catholic children. The public schools occupy third place in Dutch education, and their relative enrolment seems to be declining. In 1948 the Catholic elementary schools had about 60 per cent more students than the public schools, and when the hierarchy has completed its construction program for new Catholic high schools there may be 75 per cent more students in Catholic than in public schools.

The primary reason for this striking Catholic success in a predominantly non-Catholic country is the grant of public money. The Dutch government, like the British government, was persuaded in the last century to accept

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," has just returned from a year in Europe. Last week he described the struggle betwen the Vatican and public education in Italy; next week he will discuss the situation in France.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the principle that public money could be legitimately used in a democracy for the support of private religious schools which attained a minimum standard of education. The long fight for equality of contributions to Catholic elementary schools, which began in 1878, ended in a Catholic victory in 1920, and ever since then the Dutch taxpayers have been supporting both Protestant and Catholic elementary schools on essentially the same basis as public schools. The only preference now shown to public schools is in the matter of the construction costs of high schools—the religious schools do not receive quite as complete a building subsidy.

The extent of the triumph of the Catholic schools in the Netherlands varies with the region. Much of the north is predominantly Protestant, and in some cities there the Catholic schools are weak; on the other hand, in many Catholic sections in the south, bordering the most Catholic parts of Belgium, public schools do not exist. In these sections the Catholic bishops use great pressure to prevent the construction of public schools and threaten their people with dire penalties for supporting non-Catholic institutions.

The law gives the Catholic bishops a considerable advantage in fighting against public-school construction. When, for example, a new high school is proposed in a district, the government requires proof that a sufficient number of families will patronize it, and the decision whether it will be a public or a Catholic high school may depend largely on the number of signers to petitions. The bishops, with their great power over congregations, are often able to head off the construction of a public school. And since nuns and brothers receive full salaries from the state for teaching in diocesan schools, and since all members of religious orders are obliged to turn back to the church the excess of their salaries over living expenses, the bishops can amass a private building fund at public expense. They need to raise only 10 to 15 per cent of the building costs of a Catholic high school; the government does the rest. In the last twenty-five years the Catholic educational building program has surpassed that of the government, partly because of these special advantages.

The separatist educational program extends even into the areas of health and vocational guidance. The Dutch government now administers a medical-care program for all children in both public and denominational schools, but the hierarchy is demanding that the service in Catholic schools should be turned over to the church. There is also one system of vocational guidance and placement in all Dutch schools, but Catholic leaders are demanding a separate employment service for Catholic students, and in some districts a kind of qualified segregation has already been inaugurated.

Fortunately for Dutch children, the religious struggle for educational power has not thus far been allowed to impair the quality of elementary-school education. The compulsory-education laws are well enforced, and the very fact that the taxpayers pay virtually all the costs of Catholic and Protestant education gives the government a special sanction to supervise the quality. The inspection of Catholic schools in the Netherlands is far more thorough than in France, Italy, or the United States.

BEHIND the religious separatism in education is a structure of political power which seems bizarre in an age of secular democracies. The Catholic Party, the largest party in the state, polled 32 per cent of the votes at the last national election and as a result took eight of the fifteen posts in the Cabinet. The party has participated in Dutch governments for about thirty years and has naturally obtained political and educational favors for the church. As parties go, it is not particularly reactionary. For many years it has collaborated with the Socialist Party in maintaining a cautiously progressive welfare state in which denominational divisions are carefully preserved. The collaboration of Catholics and Socialists, those natural enemies, has had a strangely pacifying effect on Dutch politics. Few bitter clashes of opinion mark Dutch elections, and the Socialists have become so accustomed to second place in the coalition that they would scarcely know what to do if they were suddenly given a majority in Parliament. From election to election the proportionate strength of the Socialist and Catholic blocs remains almost constant. Religious origin seems to determine the voting more than any specific issue.

As a result of coalition and compromise the separation of church and state in educational policy has become a dead issue. The Socialists have definitely accepted the theory and practice of state support for religious schools, and their only dispute with the Catholics at present in this field is over the extent of public- and private-school development. The Socialists are still primarily champions of the public school, and in individual communities they are sturdily resisting the encroachments of the Catholic system of education. Strangely enough, the same hierarchy which forbids Catholics to join the non-Catholic labor federation permits them to join the Socialist Party.

While the Socialists may be accused of forsaking their principles by accepting a denominational system of education, they have no very practical alternative. Both Protestants and Catholics support the present tripartite school system, and if the Socialists should challenge the practice of allotting public money to religious schools, they would be faced by a coalition of Catholics and Protestants which could easily dominate the government. Moreover, the Socialists have nothing to gain by withdrawing from a coalition with the Catholics to form one with the Protestants, for the Protestant political parties

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

here are no more progressive in economic matters than the Catholic Party.

But Socialists have many misgivings as they watch the steady increase of the Catholic proportion in the population. They cannot help wondering how long it will take the Vatican to make Holland into a clerical state. Already the Catholic church is the largest single church in the nation, and it is gaining slowly, while the Dutch Reformed church is losing. The future of Dutch culture seems to depend chiefly upon the denominational birth rate and the denominational proportions in emigration. The well-known tendency of Catholic families to multiply and replenish the earth would lead almost any prophet to hazard that the country will be predominantly Catholic within a century, but there is one counter-influence which should not be overlooked: the church is suffering tremendous losses among the educated classes.

The tripartite school system tragically perpetuates and emphasizes religious differences. Almost 75 per cent of Dutch children are taught to think of themselves first as belonging to a denominational group in the community and second as members of the community. Each religious group tends to become a biological and cultural colony in the federated nation. The separatism moreover, reaches into the most distant parts of the Dutch colonial empire, as I saw in some of the Dutch Caribbean islands during the war.

"Mr. Point Four"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

ALTHOUGH ours is the industrial age, the men we know least about are those who plan our industries. Admittedly some engineers would be difficult to dramatize, seeming to be little else than animated slide-rules. But some have had as fascinating careers as the politicians and generals in whom we are usually more interested.

Recently I sat in a London hotel room and watched a chunky, energetic engineer fussing around while his wife packed for a trip to Israel. I had watched the same couple unpack in Shanghai and New Delhi, for the man had been called on by India and China to do the same sort of job that Israel now wanted him for—to advise on how to step up productivity by industrialization.

The engineer's name might well be "Mr. Point Four" instead of Dr. Solomon Trone, for he is better equipped than almost anybody else in the world to talk about industrial planning for underdeveloped countries. Certainly few engineers have known so intimately the industrial citadels of capitalism and communism. Dr. Trone not only served the giant General Electric Company for a quarter of a century but also worked as chief engineer on the Soviet Union's first hydroelectric achievement—the Dnieperstroy Dam. In addition, he has a first-hand knowledge of the industrial development of Japan, Germany, China, India, and other countries. It is hard to name a country in which he has not spent months or years working or studying.

Almost every newspaperman who has known him even slightly has urged Dr. Trone to write his autobiography. But he is first of all an engineer and does not think that writing is "constructive." Wherever he is, when he decides he can no longer contribute anything constructive, he pulls up stakes. He did this early in 1950 in India, where he was industrial consultant to Prime Minister Nehru. Although he was anxious to see India industrialized and Nehru urged him to stay, he left because he saw no hope that his plans could soon be realized.

Dr. Trone has passed seventy and has crowded enough into his life to satisfy a dozen men, but he still works and travels and absorbs knowledge at a tremendous pace. He was born the son of a rabbi in Mitau, Latvia, which was then part of czarist Russia, although its culture was dominated by the Baltic Germans. The students of his place and time helped spark the 1905 revolution, and Dr. Trone spent a brief period in a czarist prison—no student generation since then, he tells you, has had so much spirit. He has long been an American citizen, but speaks English with a slight accent which might be called Russo-German. He speaks Russian with a slight German accent.

It is hard to find a subject on which he does not hold trenchant opinions. They are frequently dogmatic but always informed, as a result not only of his wide and varied experience but of an unusually catholic education. He has, indeed, three doctorates—in philosophy, in chemistry, and in engineering. After studying at Riga and in Germany, he attended the famous "Free University" which once graced Brussels. To pay his way he worked as a dock laborer. He was discharged when he devised a blower system to remove from the air the flour dust which was causing lung trouble among the workers.

One of his first jobs was with the General Electric

ANDREW ROTH, a roving reporter for The Nation, *is now in London after several years in the Near and Far East.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Company, then establishing itself as the world's greatest electrical manufacturing concern. As a Socialist employed for years in high engineering and executive positions by one of the biggest and most efficient American firms, he understands how subtly and effectively a firm like G. E. can "buy" the minds of even its most intelligent employees. This was brought home to him recently when he found on a visit to Brazil that his only son, who had followed in his footsteps as a first-rung engineer, was a "100 per cent General Electric man" in his thinking. Dr. Trone tells many humorous anecdotes about his attempts to broaden the outlook of his G. E. colleagues.

Dr. Trone's work for various foreign branches of General Electric took him to the world's most interesting places at the most exciting stage of their development. He was in Japan before World War I, when that country was feverishly trying to catch up with the industrial West. In 1918 he was in Siberia, dodging back and forth between the battling reds and whites. One of the incidents Trone likes to recall from this period occurred when he tried to go from one town to another by the overburdened Trans-Siberian railway. After much trouble he received a travel permit and was fighting his way into an overloaded coach when he was thrust aside by a giant Red soldier. "But I have a permit!" Trone protested. "And these," retorted the soldier, patting his gun and the grenades hanging from his belt, "are *my* permits."

SOME lives have been considered rich because of a single "rendezvous with history," But Trone has had one rendezvous after another. In Italy in 1922 he saw the Fascists march on Rome. In Germany in 1933 he saw the Nazis seize power. He negotiated a huge contract for hydroelectric turbines between G. E. and the Soviet government and then sat in on the First and Second Five-Year Plan. His first chief was Trotsky, and he came to know most of the other Soviet bigwigs. He is enough of a student of Marxism to have come to his own conclusions as to where and why the Russians "went off the track."

Although many Russians remember his work on the Dnieperstroy dam, the current generation knows him best as the comical but wise "Mr. Adams" made famous by the Soviet humorists Ilf and Petrov. When these two visited the United States to do their famous "Little Golden America," the Trones were enjoying a brief respite from work and agreed to drive across the country with the Russian writers, serving as chauffeurs, guides, and interpreters. Ilf and Petrov paid tribute to Trone's remarkable ability to get people to pour out their life history while he seemed to do no more than cluck sympathetically, "Of course, of course!"

Part of 1940 was spent rescuing people from Nazi-occupied countries in Europe. After America entered the war, Trone worked in Washington for the Bureau of Economic Warfare; at the war's end he served on the United States Reparations Commission, studying the damage Germany had done in Russia.

His particular interest has always been the industrialization of underdeveloped countries. His longest post-war job in this field was in China, where he was industrial consultant to Dr. T. V. Soong, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law and former Premier of China. In the frenetic period of China's civil war he helped keep China's cadres of engineers at work and planned industrialization which could be put into effect as soon as peace returned. He had an amusing experience in battered Harbin. Immediately on his arrival on a Sunday morning the city commandant knocked on the door of his hotel room to say that the electricity was not working, that a *terribly* important guest was expected that evening, and since he was an engineer, would he try to fix it? Dr. Trone looked the situation over and saw he only had to replace a blown fuse. He was himself the expected terribly important guest.

He remained in China as the Kuomintang government's industrial consultant until the very eve of the Communist capture of Nanking. He would have liked to stay on to watch the Communists carry out the industrialization he had helped plan, but he realized there was no place for an American engineer in Communist China.

Nehru had long dreamed of raising India's living standards through industrialization and engaged Dr. Trone to advise him on what steps were required. Dr. and Mrs. Trone lived with him for a time and formed a deep friendship for him, but the engineer's remorseless logic did not permit his sentiments to influence his analysis of India's condition. In confidential reports he warned Nehru that India faced economic collapse unless a tremendous effort of national planning, combining the best features of capitalism and socialism, was immediately undertaken. Nehru agreed and appointed a National Planning Commission. It soon became evident, however, that conservative bureaucrats and private interests would prevent the energetic application of the rest of Trone's suggestions, and the dynamic engineer looked around for new fields.

I encountered the Trones walking in the streets of Tel Aviv last April. On their way home from India they had decided to take a quick look at Israel, which Trone had visited in the early '30's. After inspecting a number of factories, he could not help making some suggestions for improvements. He wound up with an urgent invitation to return and make a survey of the tiny country's economic prospects. He has now returned. Before he left London, when he was asked how long he intended to stay, he made a characteristic reply: "I'll look around. If I can do a job, I'll stay as long as needed. Otherwise I'll search for something else to do."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Bulls Have It

TUESDAY, January 16, was a big day on the New York Stock Exchange. With 3,740,000 shares changing hands, the Dow-Jones industrial and rail averages both advanced to new highs despite rumors that margin rules might be stiffened to discourage speculation. After hours these rumors were confirmed by a Federal Reserve Board order increasing margin requirements from 50 to 75 per cent, which means that henceforth buyers of stocks cannot borrow more than one-quarter of the purchase price.

Next morning this news put a slight damper on trading, and in the first hour prices tended to move a little lower. But there was no rush to sell, particularly after the Stock Exchange Board of Governors made it clear that the higher margin requirements would not apply to existing commitments. In addition, it appears that traders will be able to sell securities now held on a 50 per cent margin and substitute others without putting up more cash. This liberal interpretation of the Federal Reserve directive served not merely to discourage selling but to bring in new orders, with the result that by noon the market was boiling merrily. At the close the industrial average had climbed 1.36 points to 248.01, its highest mark since the middle of June, 1930.

One reason why the market took this development in its stride, as market commentators have been quick to point out, is that the total volume of margin trading has been relatively small. According to C. Norman Stabler, financial editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, brokers' loans, excluding amounts borrowed on government bonds, total $709,000,000, or 0.7 per cent of the current aggregate value of stocks traded. By contrast, before the market crashed in 1929, brokers' loans stood at $8,550,000,000, or 8.7 per cent of stock valuation at that time. On the basis of such figures it is claimed that there is no evidence of speculation on credit to justify the Federal Reserve's move. Nevertheless, it may be defended as a precautionary measure, for under present conditions there is an increasing temptation to borrow dollars, which are declining in value, in order to buy equities as a hedge against inflation.

It is now about six months since stock prices began to recover from the very sharp setback they experienced at the outbreak of the Korean war. Since then they have never looked back for more than a few days at a time. Bad news, such as the entry of Communist China into the war, has from time to time led to bouts of selling, but an effective cushion has always been provided by large orders placed just below the market. Again and again he hopes of the professional bears have been dashed by the refusal of the bulls to be easily discouraged.

The present resilience of stocks was well illustrated by their behavior on the day that the President sent his budget message to Congress. In the morning, before the news was out, trading slackened, and prices were generally marked down. But as soon as the figures were published—expenditure totaling over $71 billion, a deficit of $16½ billion to be covered by new taxes—buying orders began to flow into the brokerage offices. "Whether traders considered the outline of a $71,500,000,000 outlay for defense bullish or bearish did not seem to be the important point," said the New York *Times*. "The question was just what industries would profit most."

Despite all discouragements—mounting international tension, military defeats, threats of increasingly tight controls, the certainty of more taxes—the current bull market, which according to the chartists was born in mid-1949 during the short-lived recession, is still going strong. It has, of course, been enormously assisted by the phenomenal growth of corporate profits, which in 1950 reached an estimated aggregate of $23½ billion after taxes, or some $2½ billion more than in 1948, the previous peak year. Besides, directors have been more generous in distributing profits, and total dividend payments last year also established an all-time record.

In 1951 the earnings of some corporations will be curtailed by material shortages, and taxes will take a larger share of the gross of all. But with the economy operating at capacity, many businesses, and especially those engaged in heavy industry, expect handsome returns after the tax collector has done his worst. The last revenue bill let industry off more lightly than had been anticipated. As H. J. Nelson wrote in *Barron's* of January 8, it "made every effort to eradicate the inequities arising from any excess-profits tax." Of course, in view of the prospective deficit for 1951-52, higher imposts are inevitable, and corporations cannot expect to escape them altogether. But with the Eighty-second Congress even more friendly to business than the Eighty-first, investors are not unduly perturbed. To quote Mr. Nelson again: "There is a limit to what can be secured [from income taxes on corporations and individuals] without weakening the national economy. . . . The Washington political consensus is that chief reliance, when the chips are down, will be on excise taxes" (*Barron's*, January 15).

If this forecast is correct, we can kiss goodby to hopes of a balanced budget, for the most punishing sales tax imaginable will not by itself accomplish that end. Indeed, I suspect that today's rampant bulls are betting that Congress will lack the guts to end deficit financing. In other words, the power behind the accelerated advance in stocks is derived from a belief in the inevitability of a bigger and better inflation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

The FBI Reviews a Book

FOR twenty years, thanks to the tabloids and comic strips, our children have thought of the FBI's G-men as the Good Cowboys of our time. Not much has been said about the wonderful publicity work done by J. Edgar Hoover, though as long ago as 1937 Senator Harry Byrd called attention to the large amount of "promotional" activity carried on by the bureau. Every government agency wants to widen its field of action and enlarge its budget; for such ends good publicity is no mean weapon.

In late July, 1950, the FBI scented trouble when it learned through routine announcements of the book trade that a book by Max Lowenthal entitled "The Federal Bureau of Investigation" was scheduled for fall publication. This, there was reason to suppose, would be no uncritical acclamation of the Good Cowboys. Now watch what happened.

During August several eminent radio gossipers gave advance "reviews" of the book, which they hadn't read—describing the author's character ("sinister") and his personal associations ("Communist"). Then on September 1 Representative George Dondero of Michigan in a speech before Congress identified Mr. Lowenthal as a Man of Mystery—though "not unknown at the White House"—who "lusts and thrives on obscurity" and has thus "reached pinnacles of power." Dondero accused Lowenthal of attacking, as a matter of principle, "any American institution that stands four-square for the American way of life," including the FBI. Through his secret influence Lowenthal had placed numerous "agents of destruction in our government agencies," among them George Shaw Wheeler, who later while on service in Europe "denounced the land of his birth and asked . . . Czechoslovakia for asylum." Unless Lowenthal's diabolical schemes were thwarted, Dondero concluded, we would lose "our war with Russia."

Alerted in time, the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress called Mr. Lowenthal to Washington for a hearing on September 15, 1950. The committee decided that the hearing should be held in executive session, but there were leaks to the pro-FBI press, and the entire record was made public, without explanation, on November 20, just one day before Mr. Lowenthal's book went on sale.

Mr. Lowenthal had ventured to look into the FBI; now the Un-American Activities Committee would look into him. He appeared in Washington as a rather mild-looking gentleman with a soft voice and a disarming smile. A native of Minnesota, he had practiced law with considerable success and was now retired. On and off since 1917 he had served as an investigator and legal adviser to government commissions under Republican as well as Democratic administrations.

The committee's questioning obviously sought to elicit facts about the witness's friendships. Had Mr. Lowenthal known A and B, or X and Y? But to every suggestion of an Alger Hiss or Lee Pressman, met at Washington cocktail parties, he replied by reeling off a dozen names of big business men or millionaire lawyers with whom he had been far more closely associated. He seemed to have a profound understanding of the patriotic devotion which the committee members and their examiners felt for the American Way of Life. He addressed them in their own terms; indeed, he astonished them with accounts of his experience in large business and legal affairs. And if in the purlieus of the Chadbournes and Cottons one met a junior lawyer named Pressman, could one help knowing him? When the committee persisted along this line of guilt by association, he protested, "There isn't a corporation in the United States that won't be charged with being communistic and anti-American." Warming up to his work, he seemed to be defending the freedom of our great corporations. The committee felt a bit confused.

As a witness, Mr. Lowenthal had a way of rambling off the subject, humorously, almost ingenuously, then suddenly turning and delivering a sharp jab through his inquisitor's guard. To Senior Investigator Russell he said with a gentle smile, "I realize that there are investigators who have no knowledge of that part of American life and never will have such knowledge, because they couldn't get a job in such places, except maybe as a detective."

When the committee asked about a proposed Civil Service Commission investigation of Mr. Lowenthal in 1944, during his service as an official of the Bureau of Economic Warfare, he replied with dignity:

"I told the man [who telephoned] that if he wanted to know anything about me he had better come to the office and ask me. . . . I thought it *infra dig.*, after my years in the federal government, to be questioned by some little investigator, in some little hole, in some back building, about my career. . . . I would be willing to be questioned by my peers, but not by some investigator who may not have been born by the time I had begun to serve the federal government with some honor. . . . [It] seemed rather ignoble. . . . I felt that way then, and I feel that way today."

The examination showed that all the twenty-two alleged Communists Mr. Lowenthal might have encountered had been carefully listed in the committee's dossier on him. "But I have seen, in the course of thirty-eight years of public life, tens of thousands of people," he protested good-humoredly. By mathematical computation Mr. Lowenthal's social connections could be reckoned at least 99.78 per cent "pure." Could any man do better?

The Dondero references to Machiavellian plots to give federal jobs to numerous alleged subversive characters finally simmered down to the charge that he had known George Shaw Wheeler. Had he not given Wheeler employment at the B. E. W., and later taken him along on a War Department mission to Germany? That proved to be an easy one, for the witness showed that he could have had nothing to do with Wheeler's original appointment to the B. E. W., and that on the Berlin mission, which lasted only four weeks, he had not even had a secretary, let alone an "assistant."

The significance of all this? The evidence showed that Mr. Lowenthal was really one of our old-fashioned American liberals, but distinctly of the *rentier* class. Apparently our thought police are running out of Communists. Who's next?

THE OBSERVER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

"A PASSION FOR LITERATURE"

BY PERRY MILLER

I HAVE made my living mainly by writing in periodicals," says Edmund Wilson. He calls himself a journalist, but if that is what he is, then his is journalism in the grand and historic manner of Johnson and Sainte-Beuve. To be a journalist you do not necessarily have to exploit passing fads or inflate current vogues: "You have to develop a resourcefulness at pursuing a line of thought through pieces on miscellaneous and more or less fortuitous subjects."

"Classics and Commercials: A Literary Chronicle of the Forties" (Farrar, Straus, $5) is the record of his resourcefulness through the last decade. Many of us read the pieces as they came out, in the intervals of time; we probably read them casually as "reviews." They are surely a miscellaneous lot, and sometimes riotously fortuitous. But when they are put together and can be read consecutively, they make a coherent book, complete with a plot, full of cunning, pertinacity, and a monumentally stubborn design. They make not only a chronicle but a sustained and unrelenting credo, for which the several subjects prove to have served as so many provocations or irritants.

One phrase runs insistently through the book—"a passion for literature." Of course Wilson reads prodigiously—indeed, his appetite for the sheer quantity of literature can entice him into a greater charity for George Saintsbury than I can find it in my heart to encompass, simply because with all his detestable qualities Saintsbury did live in a world of huge dimensions "populated entirely by books." How Wilson gets time to do anything but sit and read, one marvels. What keeps him from being merely an omnivorous reader is the intensity of his passion for literature. And he can find it in the most unlikely places, because in his view literature has little or no relation to the so-called "subject matter," whether that be Marxism, democracy, the American Way of Life, or the Gospel According to St. Luke. What he wants is writing that is really written. As a matter of fact, he just can't understand any other!

What must fascinate the analytical retracer of Wilson's pursuit is the question of where the drive comes from. What generates this passion, what sustains it? He is not, as was Mencken, a critic who bares his bosom and parades his prejudices: his confessions are oblique. We get one of the most revealing in his revulsion against Kafka: he quotes with scorn Kafka's much-applauded aphorism that we must not cheat the world of its triumph, and replies, "But what are we writers here for if it is not to cheat the world of its triumph?"

Well, Dante, Calvin, or Jonathan Edwards might have said about the same thing. Yet if there is one term—used in the fullest sense—that indubitably characterizes the philosophy of Edmund Wilson, it is "rationalistic." Of Steinbeck he says that despite the obvious faults in writing and thinking, his "biological realism" is of greater value than Aldous Huxley's code of self-contemplation growing "so rootlessly and palely in the decay of scientific tradition." Armed with psychoanalysis and a sense of humor, Wilson can bring into this rationalistic frame of reference a number of writers—Dante and Poe, for example—who are customarily assumed to lie far outside it. In fact, his passing references to Poe—who in Wilson's view was never interested in spooks for their own sake—make an essay in themselves, giving a better sense of Poe as a conscious artist than all the "romantic" celebrations of his tortured genius ever dreamed of.

This sort of impassioned rationality, then, must be close to the heart of Wilson's inspiration. To comprehend it is to understand something of the forces that made him and therefore —if I may speak thus of one who by length of service invites already a partial summing-up—his place in American letters. My mind goes back to the ending of "L'Oeuvre" where Zola, speaking as Pierre Sandoz, declares that his generation were sunk in romanticism, that the best they could become was romanticism's rebellious sons, and that it would take still another generation before men could paint and write in the high and pure simplicity of truth. As Wilson saw it, in the 1920's the time had come for the American generation educated by the rebellious romantics Shaw, Huneker, and Mencken to wash off the last stains of romanticism and to write at last in the simplicity of truth. This is his dedication; this is his faith: the great works of our time, he asserts, may and must express the despair and anguish of these years, but instead of discouraging they fortify, "since they make us feel the vigor of the craftsman who, in grappling with a terrible subject, scores a victory over its terrors." His passion for literature is definitely not aestheticism: his chase has an end in view.

However, it is remarkable that in diagnosing the French generation of the 1880's Zola predicted that the supernatural would open up hostilities once more, that the spirit of myth and legend would revolt, and that we should expect a last convulsion of the old religious bewilderment. If anything emerges clearly from this long soliloquy of Edmund Wilson, it is that the high expectations of the 1920's—of the novelists of complex origin, who belonged "to a bigger cultural world"—have not been realized in a decade of writers dominated by Eliot, Auden, Kafka, and Kierkegaard. Baudelaire, indeed, had the authentic passion for literature, and it burned

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pure and intense through suffering and degradation: "But what has this to do with the Christian cults for whose rites the churches are built and the parsons and priests ordained?"

If Wilson makes anything that may be called mistakes—he says that all critics have failings—it is out of excess of devotion to the ideals which he feels came into their own with the rationalists of the twenties. His loyalty to the Van Wyck Brooks of "America's Coming of Age" is so profound that it commits him to an indulgence toward the Brooks of the later chronicles which I find incongruous: he will condone Brooks's practice of making a "very pretty passage" out of bits of Cooper where he would, I am convinced, condemn it in others as a malpractice. His generosity of 1940 toward "the boys in the back room"—Cain, O'Hara, Steinbeck, Saroyan—seems by 1950 to have been overgenerous. But still, those whom he will defend or spare are always those who belonged to, or remain faithful to, the ethos of the twenties—as Wilson felt it and valiantly upholds it.

For him the climate of the forties and of today is not—not by a long shot—so "favorable." The twenties were a "housecleaning." The more he looks at the present, the more filthy the house appears, what with the litter of political and theological obscurantism that has been tracked in. So perhaps I may be forgiven for suggesting that, clear and pure as is Edmund Wilson's passion for literature, the springs of it are deeper than "mere literature," that he is, God bless him, no "new critic." A journalism that has no moral interest, he says, ends with the conviction that the human race ought not to go on. Kafka may, indeed, be true to his time and place, but in that case it is a time and place in which we do not want to linger—in which Wilson will not linger—because Kafka announces in effect "that God's law and man's purpose are conceived in terms so different that we may as well give up hope of ever identifying the one with the other."

Wilson asserts the contrary: that the two laws are not so disparate. I should merely like to suggest that hardly anywhere in recent writing have I encountered an assertion so deeply religious—in the fully *Protestant* sense of the word.

Loyalty vs. Freedom

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN. By Alan Barth. The Viking Press. $3.

ALAN BARTH has written an important book on the dangers and vexations from which all of us have been suffering during the tense years since the culmination in victory of the Second World War and the onset of fear of another. It is a factual and philosophical account of the threats to freedom in various parts of the country that have arisen because of our phobia concerning loyalty. Never in American history have so many men and women questioned the loyalty of so many of their fellow-citizens as during these fearsome five years. Too many Americans, losing faith in themselves and the foundations of their liberty, have had recourse to unfair and irrational questioning of the loyalty of their fellowmen.

Mr. Barth traces this process through the federal and state governments, the courts, and the universities, and he does it in a series of sane essays very well written. His style exhibits lucid reasoning and dignified, controlled indignation, tempered with quiet irony. His is a book for free men, but even more a book for bigots. The principal lesson of these essays is that we have accepted so much curtailment of liberty in fear of our freedom. He also usefully points out that those stridently working for the destruction of freedom via suspicion of loyalty are, whether they realize it or not, more interested in enforcing conformity to their own forms of conservatism than in protecting us from the evils of communism. His book also brings out the extent to which Americans have indulged in the highest form of flattery—imitation of our enemy. How dangerous to our efficiency in the face of enmity the continuation of this national phobia can be is amply illustrated by Mr. Barth.

During these past five years, as Mr. Barth demonstrates, charges, whether substantiated or not, have become as damaging as conviction would have been to the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness of many persons, and it is not at all true that Communists are the main victims. The American press deserves, along with Congressional and legislative committees composed of fanatical and sometimes irresponsible men, a large share of the blame for the character assassination which has become prevalent with the aid of ex-Communists who are so ashamed of themselves for ever having been dupes that they are eager to drag their betters down into the gutter, where they can be covered with filth and kicked at will. Newspapermen, many of whom deplore the results of their own efforts, have been so trained to the lure of sensation that they have not been careful enough to protect scrupulously the interests of those on whom they report. Trial by publicity sometimes seems to have taken the place of trial by jury during the past five years.

Mr. Barth's analysis of the methods and purposes of the Congressional and other legislative un-American committees is particularly useful, pointing out as it does that the targets are not so much Communists as liberals in general and New Dealers in particular. How far outside the law those people whom Mr. Barth aptly calls the "Americanists" have gone in their professed attempts to preserve Americanism is ably presented; how damaging to our welfare are the standards of loyalty we have been trying to set up is clearly established in "The Loyalty of Free Men." Mr. Barth writes of the task of our loyalty boards in government: "It is the task of judging inscrutable motives on the basis of imponderable evidence." He concludes: "And the most shocking aspect of the whole business is that we have accepted these curtailments of essential liberty for ourselves with no outcry, with no apparent sense of their implications." There, too, the American press has much omission to apologize for. "Risk," Mr. Barth writes, "is an inescapable element of freedom," and in its effort to determine "security risks," the government, he shows, has done grave injustice from time to time. The role of the FBI in all this has a chapter to itself, and Mr. Barth corroborates in some respects the useful findings in Max Lowenthal's "The Federal Bureau of Investigation."

An interesting chapter in Mr. Barth's book is concerned with the damage to science of secrecy and suspicion, and it discusses in considerable detail the effects of the nervous search for loyalty in American universities. In this chapter Mr. Barth seems to me to contradict

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself in one respect and to exhibit some of the fear he exposes throughout the rest of the book. He is afraid to admit known Communists to jobs in universities on the grounds that such institutions have the right to hire their help, like any other employer, and that membership in the Communist Party disqualifies a man as a teacher. But once a man has tenure and does not let his communism interfere with his work, Mr. Barth thinks he should be retained. I think Mr. Barth cannot have it both ways, and I think the test should be qualifications and performance rather than political, social, or economic views, however distasteful.

Mr. Barth's book makes the reader realize that the ideal of our security-hounds will have been reached when the government of the United States and the governments of the states, the press, radio, movies, and universities and other schools are operated by think machines which are fed cards with holes rather than by men and women with beliefs, feelings, and normal orifices. By 1984, if we go along as we have been going, the machines may be equipped to devise all questions and answers without interference from the creative human mind. Then we shall have attained the fear of making a mistake which could be called disloyalty from which Soviet bureaucrats so damagingly suffer. American traditions and instincts may be able to prevent that final disaster, but not without constant vigilance and protest. Mr. Barth's book is a grave and clear warning. It contains a stimulating foreword by our greatest specialist on violations of freedom, Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

M. R. WERNER

"Island Within"

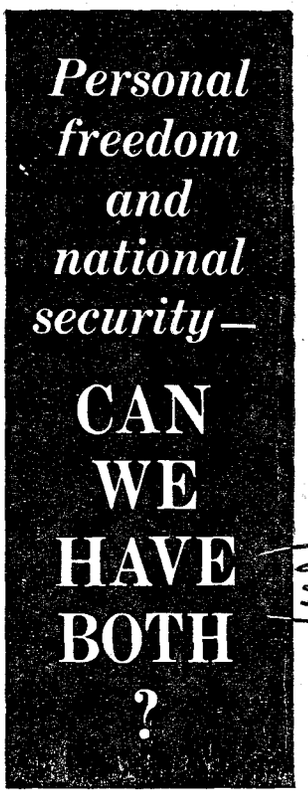
THE AMERICAN JEW: CHARACTER AND DESTINY. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Farrar, Straus and Company. $2.50.

IN ATTEMPTING to formulate a point of view and program for the American Jew, Ludwig Lewisohn approaches the problem in terms of the pervading spiritual crisis of the age. To him the murder of six million Jews by Hitler is not only an unforgettable horror caused by anti-Semitism; it is searing proof of the complete moral collapse of modern Western civilization. The way of salvation, so he asserts, is in religious neo-orthodoxy.

Despite some valid arguments and a fervor that is often compelling, Lewisohn's analysis suffers from several basic weaknesses. In his eagerness to negate the civilization created by science and the Enlightenment, he equates it in its entirety with "materialistic determinism" as exemplified by "Darwin, Haeckel, Huxley, Buckle, Marx, Wellhausen, Harnack," which, he insists, inevitably had to lead to Hitler and Stalin. Without pausing to argue whether the names Lewisohn cites are really the intellectual ancestors of totalitarianism, an equally impressive array, from Condorcet and Jefferson to Kropotkin and John Dewey, could be cited in counter-argument to prove that modernity has added new dimensions to the affirmation of human liberty and dignity. In another context, where he affirms the possibility of a continued vital Jewish life in America, Lewisohn indeed breaks with his completely negative estimate of the modern age to base his faith on the vital elements of the democratic tradition.

Lewisohn levels another charge against the liberal democratic tradition, declaring that even in one of its finest expressions, the legal emancipation of the Jew, it really intended to wipe out his uniqueness by the painless method of assimilation rather than foster a newly freed expression of his spirit. There is certainly much truth in this assertion, though the insights of sociology, a discipline which Lewisohn dismisses most cavalierly as unworthy of the attention of a man of the spirit, would emphasize for him the primacy of free choice among the forces impelling a minority to accept largely the ways of the majority. He overlooks an even more significant consideration: it was this very modern and secular age, rather than the medieval era of "faith and form," which produced the only international assent in Western history to a most intense crystallization of Jewish uniqueness in a renewed nationhood in Israel. The bitterness of the struggle of recent memory cannot ultimately obscure the fact that the Balfour Declaration was a product of the liberal democratic age at the high-water mark of its influence and that the fight for Israel could not have been won without the continued support of the liberal world.

The neo-orthodox faith that Lewisohn preaches is really a version of his "island within" of many years ago, a plea for Jewish abandonment of contemporary culture for the emotional security of the ancestral customs and traditions. Such a version of Judaism



ALAN BARTH, editorial writer of the *Washington Post*, says YES!

"With great insight and honesty Mr. Barth has shown in this important book what are the true roots of loyalty. He has performed an equally significant service in analyzing the post-war government loyalty program to show how it can endanger the true allegiance of free men." —MARQUIS CHILDS

"A first-rate book." —FRANCIS BIDDLE

"A work of the first importance; one which is indispensable reading for all Americans concerned with their freedom." —ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., *Saturday Review of Literature*

THE Loyalty OF FREE MEN

With a Foreword by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School

$3.00 at all booksellers • THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seems to me to be both narrow and untrue to its genius. Lewisohn tells us that he has written for his own time in the spirit of Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed." Maimonides created his neo-orthodoxy eight centuries ago in order to mediate between the achievements of the modern culture of his time and the inherited faith. Ludwig Lewisohn has written, not a resolution of the contemporary conflict, but rather a bill of particulars describing the wounds and perplexities of his people.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

The Paradox of Japan

ASPECTS OF JAPAN'S LABOR PROBLEMS. By Miriam S. Farley. With a Supplement by William T. Moran. Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. The John Day Company. $3.50.

THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, SECOND PHASE: 1948-50. By Robert A. Fearey. The Macmillan Company. $3.

AT ITS pre-war peak union membership in Japan was less than half a million. Eighteen months after the end of the war, thanks to MacArthur's faithful administration of Washington's liberal labor directives, union membership leaped to nearly five million. Miss Farley's book, replete with statistics, tells that story as well as the story of the subsequent crackdown—after the unions, heady with exaggerated notions of democracy, had become excessively politicalized. It is, however, a very superficial book. It reifies words pathetically. It assumes, because there is a nominal correspondence in Japan to Western labor institutions, that there is a real correspondence. But what may outwardly appear to be a progressive union may very well be a persistently feudal institution.

Miss Farley does not discuss the way in which feudal ideas of a harmonious, monolithic social organism affect the unions. She mentions the *oyabun-kobun* (labor-boss) system, but ignores its connection with the feudal morality of personal loyalty and vassalage and its usefulness to the Communists. She completely misses the Confucian, authoritarian implications of the Emperor's request, in 1947, for harmonious relations between labor and capital. She overlooks the use of high-level language not understood by the workers to thwart written agreements.

Miss Farley's account runs through 1948. Mr. Moran's supplement, covering 1949-50, hints at these problems. But on the whole the book can stand as a horrid reminder that even the most admirable ideas and institutions of the Western world need cultural translation before they can be applied in the Orient.

Mr. Fearey's book, a survey of all phases of the occupation in the last two years, is much better. It has knowledge if not always understanding. Although Mr. Fearey has no appreciation of Oriental cultural values, he at least has eyes to see the clash between them and Western values, and admits as often as necessary that powerful traditional forces have negated Western reforms. His twelve pages on labor reforms are worth more than Miss Farley's entire book because he is aware of "the peculiar nature of employer-employee relationships in Japan." His reports of the weaknesses of the democratization, war-crimes, land-reform, and anti-monopoly (*zaibatsu*) programs are even more informed.

Regarding the last, for instance: "The Japanese are not by nature or temperament adapted to a competitive system. . . . The Japanese character is in many ways better adapted to a collaborative, hierarchical system. . . . In business as in other walks of life the Japanese have not been individualists but have preferred to operate as members of a group on a basis of shared responsibility. . . . The normal tendency . . . has been to protect the weak, divide the business, live and let live." Mr. Fearey reports this quite correctly; but he also reports it disparagingly because he does not understand the ethical system underlying it. To him—he would do well to read Karen Horney's "Neurotic Personality of our Time"—the competitive system and absolute individualism are sacrosanct. That is why he cannot relate the occasional ruthlessness of the *zaibatsu* to the Confucian injunction against breaking another's rice bowl. And that is why he does not see that the subtle play of personal loyalties long after the occupation ends may offset the paper liquidation of the monopolies.

Similarly, while Mr. Fearey confirms the gloomy predictions I made in *The Nation* in November, 1946, regarding the inadequacies of the land-reform program, he attributes them to "the political naivete" of the peasants rather than to their deep attachment to a way of life for which he has no understanding. It is true that the peasants have put in power a government whose Minister of Agriculture was the most outspoken critic of the land-reform program in the Diet debates in 1946 and who is now using his office to sabotage the program by delaying the registration of transfer titles. Fearey blames this on "the continuing timidity and political inexperience of the farming population" and the peasants' "deep compunction about breaking with the traditional system of land tenure." Although tenants are grateful for sweeping rent reductions, as are the new owners for the land they have bought cheaply, they see that "the traditional village system remains substantially intact, still under the domination of the groups traditionally vested with authority. . . . Many peasants . . . would sacrifice . . . the benefits of land reform if they felt that the harmony and solidarity of the village, their basic ethical standard, were threatened."

Now these are the correct things, the true things, to say; but Mr. Fearey says them brashly and barbarously, as if a man were mad to sacrifice a material benefit for "harmony and solidarity in the village." He is self-righteously impatient with any culture save our own—impatient with a culture older than ours, in some ways more polished and sophisticated than ours, and certainly more harmonious. In the end it lands him in a maze of contradictions, for almost on the same page on which he calls the Japanese feudal and ritualistic, he calls them practical and pragmatic. There is an explanation of the paradox, for where pragmatic judgments do not transgress established ethical standards, they come more swiftly than here, since there are few rationalistic or doctrinaire blocks. But Mr. Fearey is not the man to explain his paradox, or even to notice it. A mere detail, yet indicative of that American unwillingness to understand alien cultures which has earned us the name of "coco-colonizers."

HAROLD STRAUSS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Prosody of Relaxation

THE DOUBLE ROOT. By John Holmes. Twayne Publishers. $2.50.

THE poetry that John Holmes writes is poetry of lassitude. What has made the poet so tired one can scarcely say. There is much in these poems about a man's middle age, and one might guess that the tranquillity of a settled life has slowed the course of feeling. There is much also about the chores of parenthood and of profession. These are poems in the New England tradition, and there is a good deal in them about nature, though it is the subdued, inferential nature of the suburb and the summer resort. These are poems about the little dramas of animals, children, and college professors, dramas worth noting—delicately and carefully, if possible—but not worth very much emotional effort.

One is likely to come at last to the suspicion that these poems are the outcome of a state of doubt. They are not themselves poems of uncertainty, but they reflect the terrible fatigue of uncertainty. They seem to represent a withdrawal from inquiry, an avoidance of the things that lead to inquiry—the urges to possess, to destroy, to die, or to be born. When these things come up, as they are bound to do, they are turned aside with a smile or a shrug, and are replaced by a contentment, an active and conscious contentment which is the very lowest degree of reveling, in the ordinary affairs of the mind.

As the subjects of these poems seem to represent a withdrawal from inquiry toward contentment, their style represents a withdrawal from poetry toward prose. They never achieve prose, nor are they intended to. Holmes's poetic style was formed during the time when the low-keyed verse of Stephen Spender and C. Day Lewis was most popular, but where these poets used rhythmical understress to intimate the most powerful movements of man's personal or political psyche, Holmes uses it to convey the singleness of undisturbance. His is a prosody of relaxation, the other side of Poe's; it does not lull the reader, it detains him at a level of conversation. It makes the rules seem easy and negligible (they are not), and it persuades the reader that writing—and talking—are effortless.

These are, then, poems of little tensions. On the prosodic level there is the unacknowledged tension between poetry and prose, a skirmish from which poetry emerges victoriously, but only at the expense of the vigor needed for more pronounced metrical movement. In the areas of subject and feeling these poems are for the most part occasional and momentary, little tensions of nerve that ripple but never displace the residuum of calm. This is not the way to write great poetry, but it is a way of writing that requires considerable ability. There must be faultless taste, so that no word is too loud or too strange. There must be a high degree of craftsmanship, so that no line falls too evenly—or too unevenly—from the tongue. There must be an acute perception, so that no detail of landscape or physiognomy is either too vague or too insistent. Holmes's apple cart must proceed slowly but never come completely to rest. On all these counts Holmes has given us good poems.

They vary, of course. Some veer toward the glibness of fashion-magazine verse. Others, the ones that slip toward the pretentious modernity of the book's title, are wilfully abstruse. One, the longest, a poem called The Modern Poet, which seems to be the author's most laborious theme, is almost poisonously bumptious in its gist and awkwardly sententious in its expression. Yet most of the poems are highly readable, perceptive, and concise. They are poems for people who like to read poetry better than prose, and whose taste springs from critical principles so well understood that a new poem need not be a challenge to the aesthetic conscience.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Inside Reports

RED MASQUERADE. By Angela Calomiris. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

I BELIEVED. By Douglas Hyde. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

THESE two books—one by an FBI agent who spent seven years in the American Communist Party, the other by the former managing editor of the London *Daily Worker*, who broke in 1948 after twenty years in the British Communist Party—add interesting and useful notes on the ever perplexing and fascinating question why people become Communists.

Miss Calomiris's book is more illuminating in this respect than one might think. A successful agent is most likely to be the kind of person who might have joined anyway; in the case of the Azevs and the Malinovskys of czarist Russia, the line often became so blurred that the agent himself could not always tell whether he was working for the police or for the revolution. The FBI man who first talked to Angela Calomiris explained that the FBI sought its plants among the "natural" recruits to the party—that is, among "people who have had a hard row to hoe and look as if they could be persuaded to stop try-

Tired of bestsellers?

NEW DIRECTIONS 12

An anthology of unconventional trends in writing here and abroad. 50 writers. 600 pages $5.00

NEW DIRECTIONS
333 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C.

JUST RECEIVED — VOL. 1, 2nd Ed.
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian—640 pp.
This greatly enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes to be completed in six years. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2560

THE PROGRAM
that could have prevented the present world crisis—
THE PROGRAM
that most liberals, four years ago, self-righteously condemned—
THE PROGRAM
That may still serve as the pattern for a libertarian underground, if fascism comes—
"STANDARDS AND DISCIPLINE FOR LIBERALS"
Price 25¢ Order from
MAX CARASSO
P. O. Box 994, G. P. O., New York 1, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing." Miss Calomiris, with her foreign-born parents, her background of poverty, her adult hopes shadowed and frustrated by the depression, was precisely the type of person who, in its less cool and intelligent embodiments, might have sought refuge in the C. P. U. S. A.

Her experience was that of a low-echelon Communist in New York City. She describes the drab implacability of life in the party in agreeable and vivacious detail; and she makes shrewd and not unsympathetic comments on the motivation which led people into the party. There are no startling revelations, partly because she operated on too low a level, partly because she is admirably restrained in throwing names around (as she writes at one point, "I'm suppressing the last names here because some of them may have dropped out of the party"). I reluctantly suppose that there are some "liberals" who may feel that Miss Calomiris's activity in boring into the Communist Party from within was somehow below the belt. But these are the same people who too often regard Communist boring-from-within with amused tolerance; and many of them were doubtless great admirers of John Roy Carlson's "Under Cover" some years back. Like John Roy Carlson, Angela Calomiris, in performing a dirty but necessary job, has rendered a service to the American people at great cost to herself—at the very least seven years of her life.

Douglas Hyde paid a larger price—twenty years—but he did so out of genuine and passionate belief. His career, including an editorship of the *Daily Worker* and culminating in the shift of allegiance from the Kremlin to the Vatican, is reminiscent in its outlines of that of Louis Budenz. But judging from their respective books, one must conclude that Mr. Hyde—in sharp contrast to the impression Mr. Budenz leaves of himself—is a man of very real humility and charity of spirit, making honest effort to understand why he and so many others were implicated in the dreadful trap. "There is magnificent material in the party's ranks," he writes; ". . . the Communist atheists often put to shame by their energy and devotion those who possess a faith that has the only real and lasting answers to our problems." It is for this reason no doubt that he follows quite a different policy from Budenz: "It is not the purpose of this book to smear old friends who now see themselves as my foes . . . I shall use no names except those who cannot possibly be hurt by what I write."

"I Believed" gives a faithful picture of life in the British Communist Party and a touching account of Mr. Hyde's own lifelong search for certitude. Between them, Mr. Hyde and Miss Calomiris show to what extent the appeal of communism is the consequence of the failure of free society to fill people's lives. Mr. Hyde reports the anguished cry of a comrade who fears to break with the party: "I'm terrified of the vacuum that would be left in my life if I went." And Miss Calomiris describes the faces at a Communist meeting: "I saw that all of them were radiant with hope for the new life." The tragedy is that the deficiencies of free society, by some weird distortion of the dialectic, have driven so many people, not into a determination to expand and improve freedom, but into an assault against freedom in the interests of the most appalling tyranny that man has ever known.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Art

MANNY FARBER

Recommended Exhibitions

ARSHILE GORKY (Whitney). A memorial exhibition of painted drawings by a strange eclectic; using linear form-associations, swerving from Picasso to Mirò, this psychological colorist created a subconscious world that suggests a tragic insect looking into sparse grass. Until February 18.

WELDON KEES (Peridot). Jazzy, eccentrically composed abstractions by a poet-critic-painter. In three years Kees has developed into one of the most purposeful designers around; shrill rubbed-color foregrounds boomeranging into solid gloomy backgrounds produce an off-beat pace reminiscent of "Father" Hines playing "Cement Mixer." January 29 to February 24.

J. DUBUFFET (Matisse). Like an urchin's sidewalk drawings, in lava-like impasto. Attempting to shock French painting out of its delicate civilized mien, this ex-banker's work shows influences of Soutine, Klee, Little Orphan Annie. Until February 3.

ROBERT DE NIRO (Egan). Half-resolved abstractions. Sloshing landscapish color on canvas, obliterating form with small bent strokes, De Niro is a strange avant-gardist, who derives from the honest, somber conservatives of the thirties (Burchfield, Speicher). Until February 3.

KIMBER SMITH (New). House-painted abstraction with scratched giraffe shapes (slightly under life-size). Using a scraped and worked-over technique, this artist achieves a cold density of color that can be heard six blocks away. January 30 to February 17.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE power of Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," both as a novel and as an explanation of one of the enigmas of our generation—those public confessions of old Bolsheviks about to die anyway—derives mainly from the dramatic conflict among three major characters, Rubashov, Ivanov, and Gletkin, each of whom comes alive as a personality at the same time that each stands as a type thrown up by the Soviet world-view and the Soviet system.

Ivanov, the head of the prison, is, like Rubashov, an old Bolshevik, but one who still believes that the end, however long deferred, justifies the means, however cruel, and that this end or aim retains its pristine purity uncorrupted by the means or by the temptations of great power. Gletkin, second in command, is the new Soviet man to whom such questions have no reality and who is impatient with Ivanov for trying to bring Rubashov round by argument and appeal instead of using his own efficient methods of "correct brutality." In the book the Soviet logic of each of these characters engages, at one point or another, the mind and even the sympathy of the reader. It is the highly intellectualized, inhuman and unhumane, logic of the fanatic, and its momentary appeal is to the fanatic element—the arrogant, self-righteous, and power-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loving element—in all of us. But its convincing presentation and its power to engage us are a measure of the book's merit. The conflict among three strong men generates suspense; it also serves to lay bare the workings of the Soviet mentality as well as to probe and challenge our own basic beliefs; and it makes the final capitulation of Rubashov, or rather his return to his earlier faith, convincing. What makes Rubashov the hero of the proceedings in our Western eyes is of course the fact that this fanatic logic, though it is strong enough to carry him through a public confession, is undermined and dissipated in private by human and humanitarian "softness" and that he goes to his death in the cellar as an individual human being, not as a cipher in a historical equation.

The prime weakness of Sidney Kingsley's dramatization of "Darkness at Noon" (Alvin Theater) is that only Rubashov is allowed full stature as a personality. Ivanov is portrayed as a rather cynical but amiable old-timer going along—inclined to save his old comrade because of an early and treasured fellowship—not as a forceful and convinced revolutionary who offers a cogent and confident defense of the "logic of history" and succeeds in winning over his prisoner—before he, Ivanov, is removed and liquidated, at the instigation of Gletkin, for being too soft.

As for Gletkin, he emerges in the play as a sort of simple-minded gangster, American style, who has conceived a grudge against Rubashov. This part is assigned to Walter J. Palance, who plays it in exactly the same way as he played the small-time gangster in the film "Panic in the Streets." The casting in this part of an actor of Palance's terrifying appearance might be justified, though I think a conventional-looking man would be far more effective; but his voice is quite out of line with the character of Gletkin. What is more serious, however, the reasoning behind Gletkin's "correct brutality" is not sufficiently brought out; Koestler's revealing references to the social and historical forces that have helped to mold this new Soviet type—such forces, for instance, as the headlong industrialization of a backward country—are not incorporated in the play, as they might easily have been.

This seems to me one of the most damaging simplifications that had to be made—from the point of view of dramatic interest and from another point of view as well. Americans know less about the Gletkins than about the old Bolsheviks with their Western associations; they need to know more, since Gletkins are being raised up in so many quarters of the globe.

Gletkin does at least appear as a strong character—and the fiendishly logical process by which he deduces specific criminal acts as likely consequences of Rubashov's admitted casual and general remarks is convincingly handled. So is the method of "correct brutality" in which Gletkin, by the use of logic and with the aid of such tormenting goads as bright lights and examinations prolonged into days, reduces Rubashov to complete submission.

The play is episodic—the central drama of the book, the conflict among strong personalities and points of view, being largely missing—but the episodes are dramatic and telling: the episode of the dock-workers, the episode of the girl, Rubashov's lover, who has gone to her execution without a word of defense from him, and so on.

Claude Rains appears to understand his role and the book better than Mr. Kingsley. His performance as Rubashov is marked by a steadily rising tension; at the end he even looks as if he had been through an actual, not a simulated ordeal. Alexander Scourby (Ivanov), who is made up (I suppose) to look like a benevolent version of Stalin, plays the part well as it is adapted, though as it is adapted it contains too little steel. Kim Hunter, as the devoted Luba, does very well, though she doesn't look particularly Russian. The rest of the company seemed to me well cast, well directed, and skilful on their own.

The production is worth seeing for the setting and its extraordinary manipulation. The setting is a prison—a block of cells on the right, an antechamber on the left. It appears to be made of impervious stone, but the walls are really scrim. The lighting enables us to look into the cells while the antechamber becomes by turns Rubashov's former office, a picture gallery in Germany, a bar on the docks in Belgium, the room where the examination is held. It is a striking and ingenious bit of stagecraft.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ELENA NIKOLAIDI appears to need the early part of a recital to overcome the inertia of the muscular system involved in her singing; and as long as this inertia continues the singing lacks projection: it does not achieve the full sonority and sensuous beauty of the voice and the complete musical outlining of the phrase and song. That is the story on her performances of the Schumann and Wolf songs at her recent recital. But when she began *Bel raggio* from "Semiramide" the muscular system was working with one-hundred-per cent efficiency, enabling her to produce magnificent contralto tones with sovereign freedom and manipulate them with breath-taking accuracy, style, and dramatic intensity; and the reserve power now at her disposal was evident in the effortless projection of the luscious tones and exquisite phrasing of Strauss's "Ständchen" immediately afterward. This was again singing to cherish among

STOP SAYING THAT TRAVEL IS TOO EXPENSIVE

Passenger-carrying freighters are the secret to low-cost travel.

Yes, for no more than you'd spend at a resort, you can take a never-to-be-forgotten cruise to Rio and Buenos Aires. Or through the Canal to either New York or California. Or to the West Indies or along the St. Lawrence River to French Canada. In fact, trips to almost everywhere are within your means.

And what accommodations you get: large rooms with beds (not bunks), probably a private bath, lots of good food and plenty of relaxation as you speed from port to port.

Depending upon how fast you want to go, a round the world cruise can be yours for as little as $250-$300 a month. And there are shorter trips. Fast uncrowded voyages to England, France, the Mediterranean; two- or three-week vacation up and down the Pacific Coast or from New York to New Orleans. Name the port and the chances are you can find it listed in "Travel Around the World."

This is the book that names the lines, tells where they go, how much they charge, briefly describes accommodations. Hundreds of thousands of travelers all over the world swear by it. Travel editors and travel writers say "To learn how to travel for as little as you'd spend at a resort, get 'Travel Routes Around the World.'"

The big 1951 edition is yours for $1, and your dollar also brings you two priceless reports:

1. **FREIGHTER LIFE: What vagabond voyaging is all about. What the ships are like, who goes on them, what you eat, etc. Plenty of photos.**
2. **LANDS IN THE SUN. Where to stay awhile—even retire—in the West Indies, Mexico, Guatemala, and other lands to the south where the dollar buys so much more..**

A big $1 worth. Send for your copies of all 3 guides now. On a sheet of paper, print name and address, write "Send 3 travel guides" and mail with $1 bill to Harian Publications, 45 Parkway, Greenlawn, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one's recollections of the wonders achieved by human powers. After some poor French songs and a group of Greek folksongs the recital ended with a powerful and somewhat dramatized performance of the great Sleepwalking Scene from Verdi's "Macbeth," which Nikolaidi took at a slower and more effective pace than on her Columbia record, but from which she omitted the ascent to the concluding high C-sharp that is on the record.

A number of Beethoven's songs, most of them infrequently heard, are on an Allegro LP (88) sung by Ralph Herbert, baritone, with piano accompaniments by Frederic Waldman. They comprise "Bitten," "Die Liebe des Nächsten," "Vom Tode," "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur," "Gottes Macht und Vorsehung," and "Busslied" (texts by Gellert), "Adelaide" (Matthisson), and "Mailied," "Wonne der Wehmut," and "Neue Liebe, neues Leben" (Goethe); they are very lovely and touching; and Mr. Herbert sings them well. The German texts, with numerous mistakes, are supplied.

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. $ .98
SCHUMANN: Carnaval: Fantasiestucke; Symphonic Etudes; Fantasy ..... .98
CHOPIN: 25 Preludes; 2 Piano Sont.; Fantasy .98
BRAHMS: All Violin Sonatas ..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-14
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Two fine songs of Schubert, "Der Jüngling an der Quelle" and "Nachtigall," are sung beautifully by Lehmann with accompaniments by Ulanowsky on an RCA Victor 78. The third song, "Die Männer sind mechant," Lehmann overdoes in the style of her recent recitals.

On another Victor 78 is a less familiar but lovely song of Schubert, "Thekla," sung by Marian Anderson with occasionally sagging pitch. The declamation of "Dem Unendlichen," on the reverse side, she does well; and Rupp as always creates exciting musical life in the piano parts.

The French baritone Gerard Souzay also sings a few Schubert songs with accompaniments by Jacqueline Bonneau on a London LP (LLP-245). They comprise "Der Doppelgänger," "Der Erlkönig," "Haidenröslein," and among less familiar matters the engaging "Fischerweise" and the first of the three "Gesänge des Harfners," which I don't find interesting. Souzay sings them very well, with a skilful use of falsetto that becomes excessive only in "Haidenröslein." But he sings even better the Fauré songs on the reverse side, which I don't care for. No texts.

Schumann's song-cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben," one of his feebler products to my ears, is performed by Anderson and Rupp on a couple of Victor 78's, and by Uta Graf, soprano, and John Newmark on an Allegro LP (73). Miss Graf uses a voice of no great sensuous beauty with musical intelligence; but the Anderson-Rupp performance is the more impressive one, not only because of the greater beauty of Anderson's voice (and despite its sagging pitch in "Süsser Freund") but because of what Rupp does with the important piano part, which the Victor recording gives the prominence it should have, whereas Newmark's subdued playing is further subdued by the Allegro recording. The Victor record with sides 1 and 4 gives an extra metallic resonance to Anderson's voice; the Allegro has occasional high-frequency distortion. Victor supplies English translations; Allegro the German texts, with mistakes.

In the unfamiliar four Duets Opus 28 of Brahms sung by Sara Liss, contralto, and Ralph Herbert with accompaniments by Frederic Waldman on another Allegro LP (68) I find the opening statements of "Die Nonne" lovely and "Der Jäger" engaging, but "Vor der Tür" and "Es rauschet das Wasser" uninteresting. They are well sung; and Mr. Herbert alone sings well a number of the better Brahms songs: "Der Gang zum Liebchen," "Sonntag," "Salamander," "Nachtwandler" (the best), "Bie dir sind meine Gedanken," "Alte Liebe," and "Beim Abschied." The German texts are given.

Those who care more than I for the early Debussy songs—including "Mandoline," "Clair de lune," "Fantoches," "Il pleure dans mon coeur"—on a Columbia LP will find them sung with crystalline clarity of voice and enunciation by Pons with accompaniments by La Forge. No texts.

I have come to enjoy some of Stravinsky's instrumental music that I didn't enjoy before, but not the monotonous chanting of reiterated figures in most of the songs on an Allegro LP (64)—the Three Stories for Children (1917), the Cats' Lullabies (1915016), the Four Russian Songs (1918). Nor the angular declamation over acidulous harmony in the Three Japanese Lyric Poems (1912-13). In Parasha's aria from "Mavra" (1922) there is a more melodic style and some progression of musical thought; and on the other hand the earliest songs —the Two Melodies to words of Gorodetzky (1907-8), Pastoral (1908), and Two Songs to words of Balmont (1911)—are engaging and pretty in the traditional style Stravinsky inherited and departed from. Kurenko sings them all very well with piano accompaniments by Soulima Stravinsky; the recorded sound suffers from rumbling low-frequency distortion. No texts.

CONTRIBUTORS

PERRY MILLER, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "Jonathan Edwards" and other books.

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG is a rabbi in Nashville, Tennessee.

HAROLD STRAUSS, editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., has spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

HAYDEN CARRUTH is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

A Socialist Replies

Dear Sirs: In your letters column of January 13 Roy Helfgott writes, "In the year and a half of its existence the *Monthly Review* has not had a single article by anyone who is or ever has been part of the American Socialist movement."

I happen to be in a position to dispute that statement. In its August, 1950, issue the *Monthly Review* published an article of mine titled Capitalism Seeks Sanctuary, and I am an old-line Debs Socialist. For years I was an ordained Socialist soap-boxer and writer; I was a delegate to the historic National Emergency Convention in St. Louis in 1917, and was more than once Socialist nominee for governor of Arkansas.

At this late date Mr. Helfgott might find it a bit difficult to trace my footprints from one soap-box to another, but if he can get access to the files of Victor Berger's *Milwaukee Leader* around 1920 he can find numerous articles I contributed to that journal—not to mention others.

I will not attempt to characterize Mr. Helfgott's sweeping assertion further than to say it struck me as an emotional outburst written in reckless disregard of whether it was true or false. It happened to be false. CLAY FULKS

Neosho, Mo., January 11

Freedom in Italy

Dear Sirs: It is encouraging to find *The Nation* keeping up the fight for freedom by publishing Paul Blanshard's article, Protestants in Italy, in its November 11 issue.

The current issue of *L'Europeo*, a leading Italian weekly, carries a large photograph of Eisenhower on the front page with the headline, "The Atomic Arc from London to Tripoli Will Protect Eisenhower's Fourth Landing in Western Europe." If Italy is to be one of the nations to serve as a bulwark against communism, and if liberty-loving Italians are to support the Atlantic Pact, Italy must have an ideology of freedom comparable to that of the United States. Certainly the Roman Catholic church, with its wisdom accumulated through the centuries, should be able to see the advantages of religious freedom for all people. As a free state, Italy could live up to the principles contained in its new republican constitution and be in a position to carry out the terms of the peace treaty, in which it obligated itself as follows:

> Italy shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Italian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting (Part II, Section I, Article 15).

When Italian citizens and others residing in Italy are secure in their fundamental freedoms, then Italy as a nation can justly claim admission to the United Nations.

ANTHONY CALIANDRO
President, Evangelical Biblical Institute of Italy

Naples, Italy, January 2

"A Frail Reed"

Dear Sirs: One question raised by Hans J. Morgenthau in his article "History's Lesson" in your anniversary issue deserves more consideration than the author was able to give it in such a brief treatment. In writing of the three great revolutions of our age—the political, the technological, and the moral—Professor Morgenthau said, "It is by virtue of Lenin's and Stalin's equation of bolshevization with industrialization that Russia has developed into a first-class power. Communism in Russia has meant first of all the transformation of society by the technological revolution."

If this equation of social and economic change constitutes one of the major sources of the attraction exercised by contemporary communism, it behooves Americans to ask why the social and political values of our older industrial society have not won a greater adherence in those areas where communism is making such marked gains today. It would seem that if industrialization is to be considered a chief source of attraction, the United States would be without a rival. On the other hand, if our prior industrialization has failed to draw less-developed nations into our orbit of political democracy, will the present attraction of the U. S. S. R. for economically backward nations wear off?

But as Professor Morgenthau pointed out, at least three revolutionary developments are taking place; and the regime which rides the crest of all three will have its ideology and policy vindicated. I would suggest that industrialization is a frail reed to lean on in securing the continued active support of other nations. If we are clearly superior to the U. S. S. R. in the wisdom and worth of our political and moral traditions, it would seem advisable to concentrate on driving this fact home to the peoples in flux. PHILIP AFRICA

Rochester, N. Y., January 3

Reyes of Mexico

Dear Sirs: May I add a postscript to Mildred Adams's review of "The Position of America and Other Essays," by Alfonso Reyes in *The Nation* of January 10. Reyes is no doubt the author of delightful essays, some airy and whimsical, some erudite, many profound, but he is also able to work on the grand scale. I consider his two books, "La Crítica en la edad ateniense" and "El Deslinde, Prolegómenos a la teoría literaria," as among the finest in the field of general literature. It is our great loss that these two treatises, massive and yet luminous, are not available in English. There should be a Point Four of the spirit, through which writers like Reyes could share with us a much-needed "know how." ALBERT GUÉRARD

Waltham, Mass., January 10

Step to World Union

Dear Sirs: The Nation asks in the title of its anniversary issue, "Can peace with Russia be negotiated?" I feel war might be delayed by negotiation, but the time gained would only be used to prepare

SUMMER OF 1951:
SEMINAR IN INDIA
PAKISTAN & CEYLON
Interview political, cultural, national leaders. Study social, economic, and political situation. By charter plane from San Francisco. Non-profit cooperative basis, about $1500 two-month cost.
Write: Dr. Alfred G. Fisk
San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORK SHOP

Editor Talking

Short Writing Course • Starting February

GORHAM MUNSON

will test your fiction and non-fiction manuscripts on audience and give practical editorial advice. Lectures. Personal coaching.

For full information, write:

RAND SCHOOL • 7 East 15 St. • New York 3

ORGANIZATION

The WORLD PEACE UNION

with grass roots on the farms and a mass base in the cities, is suggested as the name of a new organization to provide ways and means of uniting the American people in immediate concrete efforts to win and preserve peace for ourselves and our children.

Persons interested in founding such an organization on principles indicated in *The Nation's* Anniversary Number write—

Rebecca, Shelley, Route 1, Box 410, Clear Lake Road, Battle Creek, Michigan.

PERSONALS

WRITER (published), sole occupant pleasant cottage (45 minutes New York), would combine with other literary person. Full amenities. Oil heat. Reasonable. Box 209, c/o The Nation.

BRITISH UNIVERSITY "DON"—immigrant U. S.—seeks newspaper work, proof reading, or similar employment. Subjects—European history, philosophy, Dr. Brown, Noank, Conn.

WILL anyone having letters of Powers Hapgood please send them to **Cecil Byrd, associate librarian, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.** All available material to help in the writing of Powers Hapgood's biography will be appreciated.

for a bigger and better war. The peace that I am interested in is a peace like that we have among our states, the by-product of good government. I liked Albert Guérard's review, but I object to his criticism of Clarence Streit's proposal for a federal union of free nations.

The step to world union must be accompanied by a world language. More than sixteen million people are behind the petition to the U. N. for Esperanto, the world auxiliary language. Although the first instalment has been presented to the U. N., *The Nation* has not mentioned it. I think that it is news, and good news, that so many people have subscribed. Guérard writes, "A world constitution, like an international language, would be at the same time an admirable symbol and a most effective instrument of unity and peace."

GLENN P. TURNER
Director, Esperanto Foundation
Middleton, Wis., January 8

The N. A. A. C. P. Needs Funds

Dear Sirs: All of us are acutely aware that the grave crisis in Korea has brought to a head the world-wide battle between democratic and totalitarian ideologies. We must also recognize that to win the support of the nations and peoples of the world America must convince them that our democracy is an inclusive and living reality. The present anti-American sentiment in Asia and Africa, based on widespread knowledge of race discrimination here, places in grave danger America's leadership of the free world.

As the nation's foremost civil-rights organization for more than four decades, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has led the forces working to strengthen our democracy. On the legal, legislative, and educational fronts the N. A. A. C. P. has moved tirelessly forward, bringing Americans of every race nearer to full realization of their democratic rights and privileges. But a tremendous job remains to be done.

Completion of this job, more vital now than ever before, is threatened by a grave financial crisis which may necessitate drastic curtailment of N. A. A. C. P. activities. Negro citizens, who heretofore have shouldered 85 per cent of the cost of the civil-rights fight, are not able to carry the whole burden of increased expenses. We must find new sources of income if our effectiveness is to continue.

We are certain that your readers will want to help the N. A. A. C. P. over this financial hurdle by answering our emergency appeal for operating funds. Donations should be sent to local offices or to the N. A. A. C. P., 20 West Fortieth St., New York 18.

WALTER WHITE
Executive Secretary
New York, January 1

Magazine Exchange

Dear Sirs: At no time in recent history have America and India been so divided on international matters. A well-informed public in both countries could do much to promote friendship. To that end *India Digest* is setting up a Magazine Exchange Department and will be glad to receive from American friends current issues of United States magazines that they have finished using. These magazines will be distributed to libraries, colleges, and schools where they will have maximum use. In return, Indian magazines of international appeal will be mailed to those who cooperate with us.

American periodicals should be addressed to *India Digest*, 9, Cantonment, Ahmedabad 3, India.

HIRO VASWANI
Ahmedabad, India, December 30

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . $13.25 You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET_____

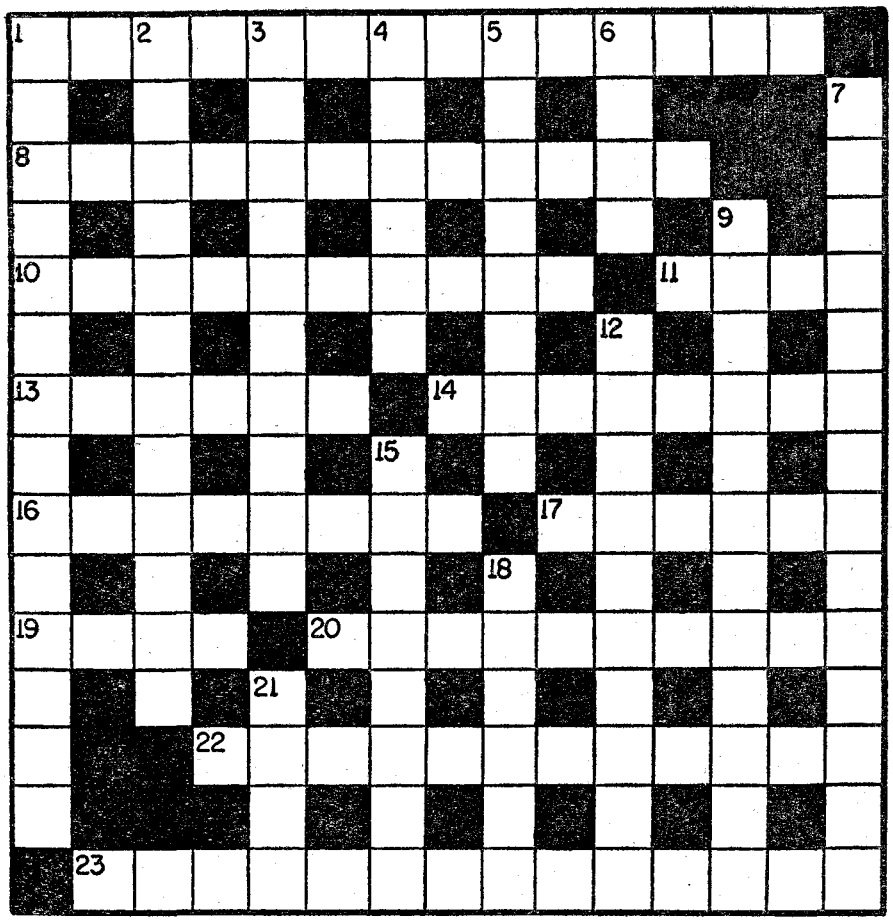
CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

1/27/51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 397

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The starry field to Mrs. Ross? (7, 2, 5)
8 Old as one feels while waiting in the queue. (12)
10 Man's to man makes countless thousands mourn. (10)
11 See 16.
13 Some Stetsons are ten times as big. (6)
14 His is an out-of-tune version. (8)
16 and 11. Insiders are never so left. (3, 2, 3, 4)
17 The cry of the disturbed butcherbird. (6)
19 Circle back to find game. (4)
20 Fly in the ointment container, perhaps, if not clear. (10)
22 Expostulation of stern romance. (12)
23 Certainly not the quality of mercy. (14)

DOWN

1 Detaining guests with a firm expression. (7, 7)
2 Destruction of a country with nothing in the interior. (12)
3 Salt flats where races are held? (5, 5)
4 Paints spots. (6)
5 Sort the reds lost in later years. (8)
6 Ante-up! (4)
7 Associated with the cry of the defeated. (7, 7)
9 A close call? Far from it! (4, 8)
12 Scrub the deck, but not with these! (10)
15 Pass near Skagway. (8)
18 Tenant, perhaps, who has the French look. (6)
21 Heretics, no great shakes at present. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 396

ACROSS:—1 CAPITAL OFFENSES; 9 MORSE; 11 UNMORAL; 12 CHIANTI; 13 INTEGER; 14 DEGRADE; 16 YARKAND; 19 PERTAIN; 21 EMPORIA; 23 LIGHTER; 24 and 10 THE SOONER THE BETTER; 25 OCEAN; 26 RUSSIAN ROULETTE.

DOWN:—1 COMMUNITY CENTER; 2 PERIMETER; 3 THE BRIG; 4 LITTLER; 5 FLEECED; 6 EVENING; 7 SATIN; 8 SERVICE ENTRANCE; 15 APARTMENT; 17 A PRIORI; 18 DRAWN ON; 19 PALERMO; 20 RAG DOLL; 22 PEERS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 320
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for winter vacations and weekends. Mile-long lake for skating. Skiing nearby. Roaring fireplaces, television, recordings. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WINTER VACATION NEARBY
A gay Winter Holiday awaits you at Forest House. All sports in a winter wonderland. New Ski-Tow nearby. Fine cuisine, excellent accommodations, warm hospitality.
FOREST House
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y., TEL. MAHOPAC 8-3688

FARMS & ACREAGE

AUTHENTIC 8-room central hall colonial; 3 original fireplaces; electricity. Charming setting, 2 brooks, pond. Good barn. Ten acres. $8750. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.**

COLONIAL of 6 rooms; modern bath, kitchen. 28 ft. studio-living room with fireplace. Artesian well, electricity, phone. 20 acres, orchard, valley view. $7000. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.**

FURNISHED ROOMS

THE ARIZONA, 508 West 114th Street (opposite Columbia University). Fireproof. Singles and doubles. Weekly and daily rates. Hotel, switchboard service.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

Classified Advertising Rates

74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)

Minimum three lines

Box No. counted as three words

Remittance must accompany all orders

THE NATION

20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE *Nation* *in* CLASSROOMS

The Editors of The Nation:

In freshman communications classes here at Michigan State College we often have students report on magazines. One of my students, a married veteran, at this moment first came upon *The Nation*, never having read any serious magazine before. In a way he was all thumbs, for the magazine as well as the report were new experiences for him.

But in his conclusion he suddenly forgot his notes and said what *The Nation* seemed to him to be. I think you will agree that you have been complimented as highly as is possible. "It's not for violence," he said, "but strictly for freedom. They want to get at wrongdoing through truth. They don't say anything without telling you why they say it."

KENNETH MACRORIE

Department of Written and Spoken English,
Michigan State College

INSTRUCTORS!

The Nation's Special Classroom Rate Is

40c Monthly per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address. Desk copy supplied free.

← ***Use This Order Form***

Convenient Order Form

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of The Nation for _____ months at the rate of 40¢ monthly per student.

☐ I enclose my remittance. ☐ Bill me.

Name_____

College or University_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

1/27/51

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED